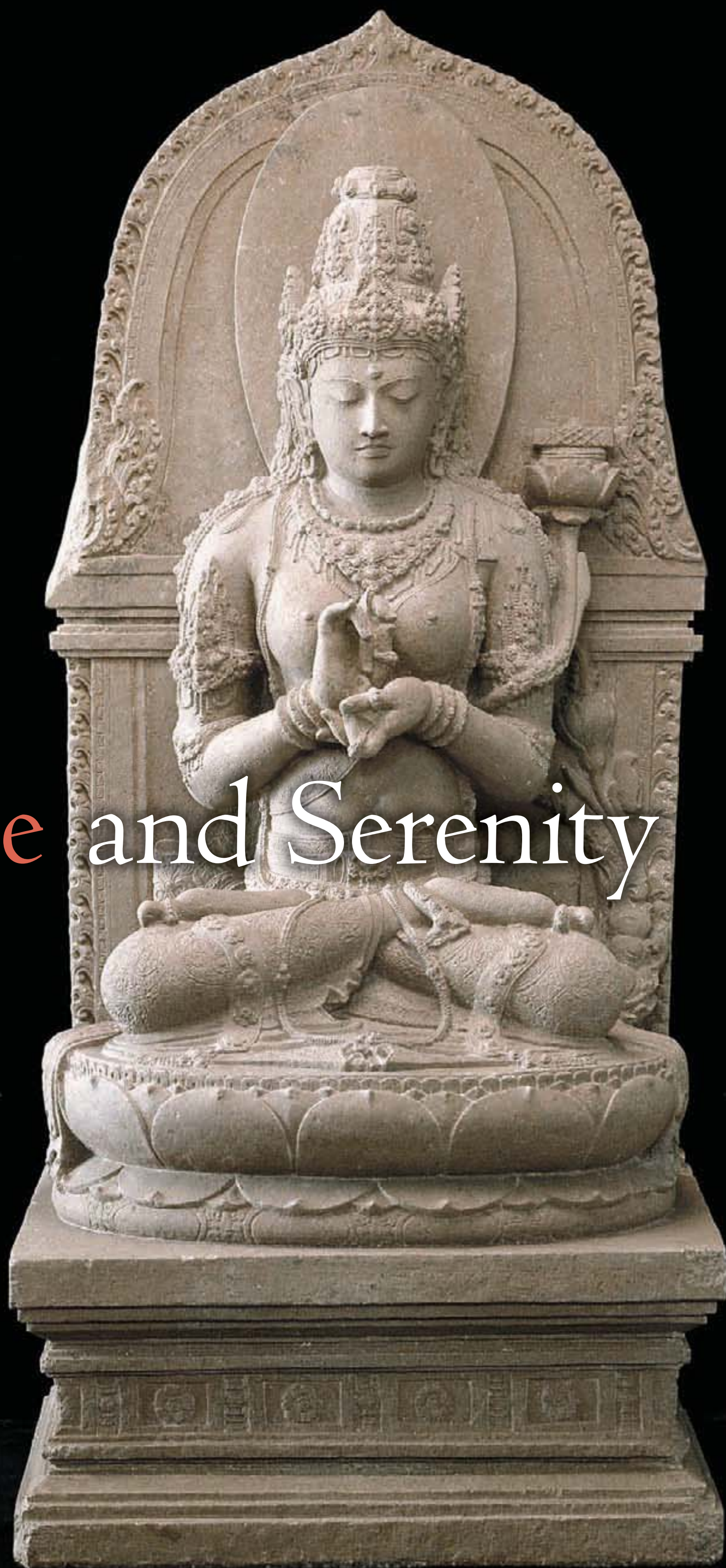


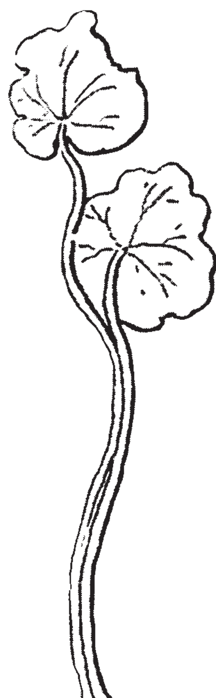
Violence and Serenity

Late Buddhist Sculpture from Indonesia

Natasha Reichle

VIOLENCE AND SERENITY

Violence and Serenity



Late Buddhist Sculpture from Indonesia

Natasha Reichle



UNIVERSITY OF HAWAIʻI PRESS | HONOLULU

Publication of this book has been aided by a grant from the Millard Meiss Publication Fund of the College Art Association.



Printed in the United States of America
12 11 10 09 08 07 6 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Reichle, Natasha.
Violence and serenity : late Buddhist sculpture from Indonesia / Natasha Reichle.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-8248-2924-7 (hardcover : alk. paper)
1. Sculpture, Buddhist — Indonesia. 2. Sculpture — Indonesia. I. Title.
NB1912.B83R44 2007
730.9598 — dc22 2007002856

University of Hawai'i Press books are printed on acid-free paper and meet the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Council on Library Resources.

Designed by April Leidig-Higgins
Printed by Thomson-Shore, Inc.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

IT IS HARD TO KNOW how to begin to give thanks when thanks are due so many. I have been fortunate to study with Joanna Williams, a model of erudition, kindness, and patience. She took the risk of accepting a graduate student who knew next to nothing about art history or Southeast Asia, and has continued to encourage and support me over the years. I would like to thank my teachers and academic advisers at Berkeley, including Amin Sweeney, Lewis Lancaster, Patricia Berger, Jeffrey Hadler, and Ninik Lunde. I also appreciate the thoughts and comments of Nancy Tingley, Robert L. Brown, and Kristina Youso Connoy. Friends and colleagues both in and outside graduate school, as well as at the Asian Art Museum, have helped me in numerous ways.

I am grateful to several institutions and fellowships for their support of my research in Indonesia and the Netherlands. The J. William Fulbright Fellowship sponsored my travel and research in Indonesia in 1997–1998. I received additional support from the University of California's Humanities Graduate Research Grant and Center for Southeast Asian Studies' Grants-in-Aid Award. Further assistance for planning and completing my dissertation was given by an Andrew W. Mellon Dissertation Writing Fellowship, a U.C. Berkeley's Dean's Dissertation Fellowship, and a Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship. The Millard Meiss Publication Grant helped support the publication of this book.

I am indebted to a great number of individuals and institutions in Indonesia. I appreciate all the efforts of my sponsor in Jakarta, Dr. Endang Sri Hardiati Soekatno, and the Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional. I also received invaluable assistance from the staffs of the Museum Nasional, Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Provinsi Sumatra Barat dan Riau, Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Provinsi Jambi, Sumatera Selatan and Bengkulu, Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Provinsi Jawa Tengah, Balai Arkeologi Medan, and Balai Arkeologi Palembang. Thanks are also due the staff of AMINEF in Jakarta, PPLH Seloliman, Bapak H. A. Sutan Madjo Indo, the Keluarga Kontra, and Ibu War and her family. Many other Indone-

sians helped me find my way during my time in Java and Sumatra. My thanks to all of them.

In the Netherlands, Marijke Klokke and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer patiently answered my questions and assisted me in many ways. I am also grateful to the staffs of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden; Kern Institute; Leiden University Library; and Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.

My thanks also go to Pamela Kelley at the University of Hawai'i Press and to Joanne Sandstrom and Sheila Huth for their work on the preparation of this manuscript. Douglas Reichle put in countless hours making maps and digitalizing photographs.

This project would never have begun without the help and support of my immediate and extended family. I would like to thank my brother for initially inspiring my interest in Indonesia, and my sister and her husband for their support, especially while I was abroad. My father had a quiet wisdom and avid intellectual curiosity that I can only seek to emulate. I miss him deeply and wish he could have seen the completion of this project. My mother's creativity kindled my interest in the arts; her love and generosity sustain me. Tai has already seen the sun set from the top of Borobudur, and I hope some day soon Sarinah will also. I look forward to returning to Indonesia and sharing its beauty with them both. No words can express my debt to Stephen Knight, my *sopir,* research assistant, editor, friend, and partner in life. Without his help this book would remain incomplete, as would my life.

A NOTE ON SPELLING AND TRANSLITERATION

THIS BOOK DRAWS upon many sources, which in turn have used differing ways of transliterating Sanskrit and Old Javanese or Malay words. To try to maintain some kind of coherence throughout the text, I have used Sanskrit spellings for most words and names. In an Indonesian context, the letter *v* would be replaced by a *w;* for instance Śiwa instead of Śiva. I have maintained the Javanese spelling only for the names of rulers, or in quotations from other sources.

Rulers of the Singasari and Majapahit Dynasties

Singasari Dynasty

Ranggah Rājasa (Ken Angrok) (1222–1227) marries Ken Dedes and founds Singasari dynasty

Anūṣapati (Anūṣanātha) (1227–1248), son of Ken Dedes and her first husband, Tungal Ametung

Tohjaya (1248), son of Ken Angrok and a concubine

Wiṣṇuwardhana (1248–1268), son of Anūṣapati

Kṛtanagara (1268–1292), son of Wiṣṇuwardhana

Jayakatwang (1292–1293), married to a cousin of Kṛtanagara

Majapahit Dynasty

Kṛtarājasa (Raden Wijaya) (1293–1309), son-in-law of Kṛtanagara, married to Gāyatrī Rājapatnī (daughter of Kṛtanagara)

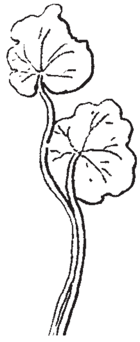
Jayanāgara (1309–1328), son of Kṛtarājasa

Tribhuwanā (1328–1350), daughter of Kṛtarājasa

Rājasanagara (Hayam Wuruk) (1350–1389), son of Tribhuwanā

Wikramawardhana (1389–1429), nephew and son-in-law of Rājasanagara

Suhitā (1429–1447), daughter of Wikramawardhana



INTRODUCTION

AT THE HEART OF the Museum Nasional in Jakarta lies a remarkable collection of ancient sculpture. One after another, dozens of Hindu and Buddhist statues line the walls of the courtyard at the core of the building, giving the visitor a glimpse of the long artistic history of the region. Although many of the images are spectacular, when I first visited the museum, I found myself drawn again and again to the same two: an exquisite seated image of Prajñāpāramitā, the goddess of transcendental wisdom, and a colossal standing demonic figure known as a *bhairava*.

The bhairava sculpture is impossible to miss and difficult to forget (fig. i.1). It stands at the back of the first gallery of ancient sculpture, looking out at the museum's courtyard. At almost four and a half meters high, it towers over the rest of the museum's collection. Standing on a base of oversized human skulls, the bhairava holds a dagger and skull cup against his hairy chest. A small Akṣobhya Buddha depicted in his headdress is the only clue to the image's Buddhist nature. The statue is described as a portrait of the fourteenth-century Sumatran king Ādityawarman.

The Prajñāpāramitā statue is equally riveting, but in a very different way (fig. i.2). While the bhairava image boldly faces the viewer, the Prajñāpāramitā looks down in meditation, serenely focused inward. The seated figure is on the second floor of the museum, guarding the entranceway of the Treasure Room. It is a jewel-like image, cool, hard, exquisite. Despite its clearly Buddhist iconography, the statue has long been associated with a historical figure known as Ken Dedes, the first queen of the Singasari dynasty.

What initially drew me to these two images was their remarkable craftsmanship. But soon other questions arose. What role did these sharply contrasting images play in Buddhist practices in Indonesia? What were the connections between East Java, where the female deity was found, and West Sumatra, where the colossal demonic figure was unearthed? Were these images really portraits of historical rulers?

The exploration of these questions led to a reexamination of some of the



FIGURE i.1. Bhairava, mid-fourteenth century, Padang Roco (Sungai Langsat), West Sumatra, h 4.14 m, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 6470



FIGURE i.2. Prajñāpāramitā, ca. 1300, from Candi Singasari, East Java, h 1.26 m, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 1403/XI 1587

most important issues faced by historians of ancient Indonesia. Many scholars have held that the religion of ancient Java during the Singasari and Majapahit dynasties (1222–ca. 1520) was a syncretic combination of Hinduism and Buddhism. Another common belief is that rulers during that period were regarded as deities. Many of the pieces of sculpture discussed in this book were used to bolster such arguments. But a closer look at the statuary, as well as at the inscriptions and literature of the time, indicates that these premises are false.

This book focuses on Indonesian Buddhist statuary, dating, for the most part, from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is not a comprehensive survey of the Buddhist works from this period, but rather a close examination of some of the most important stone statues of the Singasari and Majapahit dynasties. I also discuss Sumatran material that was made during roughly this same period, but not necessarily under the patronage of rulers of these two dynasties. The task of examining the Buddhist art of this period is somewhat facilitated by the fact that the number of clearly identifiable Buddhist works is limited. Yet the existing examples are truly impressive: as a whole, they show a remarkable level of craftsmanship and are also exceptionally expressive images, exhibiting a range of emotions from the serene to the ferocious.

Initially I set out to explore what ancient sculpture could tell us about Buddhism during this period, but I soon found it impossible to discuss these images without addressing the many ways that religious art functioned in a political arena. Although statues clearly represented Buddhist deities, they were often erected in commemoration of kings and queens and have been described as royal portraits. Some images were inscribed with long royal proclamations, and others were exchanged between realms.

These statues have continued to have meaning in the twenty-first century. Indonesian art historical studies often refer to important works of art as *pusaka,* a term that literally means "heirloom," but that carries a connotation of an object with supernatural power. Images of many of the sculptures discussed in this book can be seen today on postage stamps, replicated in municipal museums and parks, and on the covers of catalogues of international exhibitions. Just as Buddhist images of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were used to emphasize the power and legitimacy of the regime, they are used by the Indonesian state today to create and reinforce a sense of national history and national pride, a task especially important at a time when the nation itself is bound together with tenuous threads.

In the Indonesian archipelago, the spread of Buddhism was primarily confined to the islands of Java and Sumatra.[1] The majority of archaeological



FIGURE i.3. Indonesia



FIGURE i.4. Central and East Java

remains from ancient Java have been Hindu, but significant Buddhist antiquities exist from both Central and East Java. Ancient Javanese art has long been divided into the two broad categories of Central and East Javanese art. These geographic terms also imply a chronological difference, with art flourishing in Central Java between the eighth and the tenth centuries and in East Java from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries. This division is obviously arbitrary and excludes important archaeological remains that do not fit into this geographic and chronological framework. The Javanese works discussed in this book all date from the East Javanese period.

During this period, religion in ancient Java, as suggested by both literature and statuary, began to display characteristics that indicate a movement away from earlier Central Javanese and Indian models. In literature, one finds repeated references that compare and conflate the Hindu and Buddhist deities. In sculpture, the iconography of some statues combines attributes that were previously associated with more than one deity. Scholars have pointed to both of these factors as evidence of religious syncretism in ancient Java. At the same time, one also finds an increase in the depiction of fierce deities and wrathful guardian figures.

The problem of determining the nature of religious developments in this



FIGURE i.5. Sumatra

part of Indonesia is compounded by the fact that esoteric Buddhism and Hinduism can be difficult to differentiate, even in India. Rather than thinking of the religion of Java and Sumatra during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as Hindu or Buddhist, some scholars posit that it would be better categorized as tantric. Tantric religious practice placed great emphasis on the use of rituals, meditation, and other tools in the quest for immediate salvation.

In contrast to Java, the majority of ancient remains found in Sumatra are Buddhist. But far fewer Sumatran sculptures have been unearthed, and much less effort has been spent on the excavation of archaeological sites. All of the

major archaeological sites in Sumatra, including Muara Takus, Muara Jambi, Padang Lawas, and the Batang Hari region, remain in need of continued excavation and conservation.[2] A more exhaustive study of the ancient remains of Sumatra can be written only after this archaeological work is undertaken.

While the temples of Java have provided fodder for the study of Buddhism on that island, the meanings of Sumatran antiquities have been much more difficult to decipher. The writings of Chinese pilgrims and the inscriptions of local rulers suggest that Buddhism was already flourishing in the seventh century at Śrīvijaya (an eastern Sumatran thalassocracy), yet much of our knowledge about the specifics of religious practice from that time onward is murky and conjectural.

Despite the long history of Buddhism on the island, most of the scholarship on the early history of Sumatra has focused on the question of the location of Śrīvijaya,[3] rather than on the sociocultural or religious nature of the maritime supremacy. Other studies have associated Śrīvijaya with objects from all regions of Sumatra dating from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries, even though the connections between many of these works and the ancient kingdom are ambiguous. Neither the colonial nor the more recent Indonesian scholarship has concentrated specifically on the religious nature of temple complexes and of sculptural imagery. Nor have the connections between the art of Sumatra and the Buddhist art of Java been thoroughly explored.

Unfortunately, no large corpus of Buddhist texts exists to help us understand the religious practices in Indonesia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Our knowledge is gleaned mainly from one major tenth-century treatise,[4] allusions to religion in literary works, inscriptions, and art. Previous research on the religious nature of sculpture of this period has emphasized the syncretism between Hinduism and Buddhism in Java and the connection between esoteric practices and indigenous beliefs in Sumatra. Some scholars theorize that tantric cults gained popularity in Sumatra because of the preexisting local beliefs of the Batak and Minangkabau peoples.[5] Yet a close examination of the relevant Buddhist sculpture shows that in many cases these emphases are unwarranted or exaggerated.

While Buddhism is the first factor that ties together the sculptures discussed in this study, a second focus is the political role of these images in ancient Indonesia and the many ways in which the spheres of religion and politics intersect. Some of these statues have long been associated with historical figures and have been described as portraits of rulers depicted as gods. Other images may have been used as palladia, established for purposes of legitimiza-

tion. Fierce statues were erected in order to intimidate or threaten, protecting the ruler against treason from within or attack from afar.

In Java, the Singasari and Majapahit dynasties are considered a golden age in which Hindu and Buddhist arts and literature flourished, before the expansion of the Islamic coastal powers. Much of the Buddhist sculpture of this period is associated with King Kṛtanagara (1268–1292), the last king of the Singasari dynasty. Epigraphic and literary sources indicate that Kṛtanagara was a proponent of esoteric Buddhism, though the nature of the practices he engaged in is difficult to determine.

In Sumatra, the fourteenth century is associated with the rise of the kingdom of Malāyu after the decline of the elusive Buddhist polity of Śrīvijaya.[6] King Ādityawarman stands out as one of the few historical rulers who has been identified from this period. The inscriptions he left in West Sumatra and along its borders provide us with valuable (though often perplexing) information about royal religious practices of the time. Ādityawarman is also associated with two of the most important late Buddhist statues found in Sumatra, an image of Amoghapāśa and the previously mentioned colossal bhairava statue discovered along the banks of the Batang Hari (now in the Museum Nasional Indonesia).

One commonly asserted premise is that much of the religious statuary of this period functioned as royal portraiture and thus illustrated the apotheoses of rulers. The question of royal divinity is a complicated issue. Robert Heine-Geldern's seminal essay, "Conceptions of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia," argued that the structure of early Southeast Asian capital cities was modeled on the Buddhist or Hindu cosmology.[7] This often included the idea of a sacred mountain surrounded by concentric circles of mountain ranges and moats. Implicit in this model was the equation of the god at the center of the macrocosm with the king in his temple at the center of his city. In this framework the realm was a microcosm of the universe, with the king perceived as god on earth. Working from this model, other scholars developed theories in which the Javanese *candi* served as a temple to the gods and a royal mausoleum simultaneously. This theory was especially expounded in East Java, where temples were built to commemorate deceased rulers. Statues of both Buddhist and Hindu deities would be consecrated in these temples; thus the ruler would be posthumously associated with a specific god.

More recently, the concept of divine kingship in Southeast Asia has been reexamined, and scholars have sought to determine to what extent royal claims of divinity were metaphorical. This research suggested that living kings

in Java were probably not the objects of religious cults. Kings and queens may have been considered avatars or semiavatars of gods, leading human existences on earth, then returning to their divine status after death. This belief would conform to indigenous ancestor cults found throughout the Indonesian archipelago. The connections between rulers and statues were complex, and while images may have been closely associated with a ruler, they did not necessarily attempt to imitate his or her physical features.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries one finds a predominance of two kinds of freestanding statuary: one showing fierce demonic gods, the other depicting divine figures who seem serenely lost in meditation. These two types of images are not portraits, but they do illustrate two aspects of an Indonesian conception of power. Old Javanese literature commonly describes three stages in the life of rulers.[8] The first stage involves asceticism and the accumulation of power. The second stage involves a period of conflict and violence to gain and maintain control of the realm. The final stage is a retirement and return to the ascetic life.

From this scenario two very different conceptions of power emerge: one emphasizes restrained spiritual potency, the other unchecked physical might. One type of power is accumulated through disciplined asceticism and meditation, and another is unleashed violently in an effort to gain or maintain authority. Characters of these two kinds are routinely juxtaposed in literature and in *wayang* shadow plays. Admiration for both types can be seen in Javanese tales of Arjuna and Bima, two *Mahābhārata* heroes who exemplify these contrasting ideals. Statues of this period may illustrate and reflect these two types, or two aspects, of power. They can also be seen to depict two different methods of attaining power: through meditation or through more unorthodox tantric practices.

Another intersection between the religious and political spheres can be seen in the replication and distribution of Buddhist statuary during this period. Many of the images I will discuss were copied and, in some cases, transported hundreds of kilometers. In some cases the appearance of statues of the same deity in different locations may have been coincidental, but in others, there are clear political implications in their distribution. The Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* (a form of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and his surrounding attendants) from Candi Jago was replicated in both stone and bronze. While filial piety and the accumulation of religious merit were certainly two of the motivations for the duplication of the image, the expansionist politics of King Kṛtanagara also played a role. By examining the inscriptions relating to these works, as well as the depiction of the *saptaratna* (seven jewels of a monarch) on the base

of the image, one can see how the statue represents both a bodhisattva and a *cakravartin* (universal monarch).

Some of the most eloquent and influential recent studies on Indonesian culture have focused on exploring conceptions of power and realm. Most notably, the works of Clifford Geertz and Benedict Anderson have examined ideas of kingship, charisma, and legitimacy in Java.[9] While their studies often concentrate on the status of modern Indonesian politics, they have also sought to define "traditional" notions of political authority. I am particularly interested in how Buddhist sculpture may have been used in a political context to define kingdoms, to negotiate between realms, or to gain legitimacy and authority.

The book begins with a brief discussion of the early history of Buddhism in Indonesia. The records of Chinese pilgrims provide some of the earliest information about the spread of Buddhism to the islands, but indigenous inscriptions are also an important source. A Malay inscription from the seventh century proclaims a Sumatran king's bodhisattva vow, while other inscriptions (known as curse formulas) mention a wide range of esoteric tools used by rulers during this period (*mantras, yantras* [symbolic diagrams], and bowls full of blood). This early epigraphic evidence of religious practice is associated with the Sumatran maritime kingdom of Śrīvijaya, which is mentioned in the inscriptions. The royal concerns with accumulating merit and with safeguarding against treason expressed in these inscriptions resonate throughout later literature and art.

For people familiar with Southeast Asia, the mention of Buddhism in Java immediately calls to mind the Central Javanese monument of Borobudur, one of the largest Buddhist monuments in the world. Dozens of books have been written about the monument, and its complex structure and iconography certainly merit such attention. But the lack of scholarship on Buddhist art in Indonesia after the Śailendra dynasty would lead one to think that after a florescence in the Central Javanese period (eighth–tenth centuries), Buddhism was completely eclipsed by the predominantly Hindu East Javanese dynasties. Instead, as the works discussed in the chapters to follow illustrate, extraordinary Buddhist images were still being sculpted as late as the fourteenth century.

The following chapters discuss the most significant pieces of Buddhist statuary from East Java and Sumatra. Each chapter concentrates upon a specific statue (or group of statues) and examines the relevant larger issues evoked by the image. Chapter 2 discusses a rarely examined statue known by the nickname Joko Dolok. This seated figure combines the characteristics of a monk

with the attributes of the Akṣobhya Buddha. The only image that most scholars agree is a portrait, it is thought to depict King Kṛtanagara, the last king of the Singasari dynasty and a famed proponent of esoteric Buddhism. This chapter explores the nature of religion in Java in the late thirteenth century, focusing on what we know about tantric practices and about the syncretism of Hinduism and Buddhism.

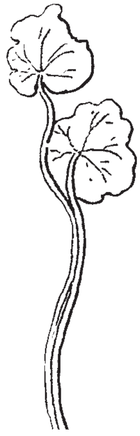
The following chapter concentrates on another image that has often been called a portrait statue, the famous Prajñāpāramitā from Singasari. This statue has been associated with two famous women in Indonesian history: Ken Dedes, the first queen of the Singasari dynasty, and the Rājapatnī, queen mother in the Majapahit dynasty. Several other statues of Prajñāpāramitā have been found both in Java and Sumatra. Do these depict other royal figures, or are they evidence of the widespread worship of the goddess in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries? A reassessment of the question of portraiture in ancient Javanese art indicates that in most cases there is little evidence that statues were intended to resemble royal figures. Regardless of the artist's original intent, the Prajñāpāramitā statue has assumed different identities for different audiences and continues to have deep significance in Indonesia today.[10]

Chapter 4 focuses on a number of statues that depict the Buddhist deity Amoghapāśa and his attendants. These images are particularly interesting because we know that they were replicated and distributed. Bronze plaques depicting this bodhisattva were found in several sites in East Java, and a large stone statue of the deity was sent to Sumatra, where King Ādityawarman later rededicated it. In this chapter, I examine the meanings of the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala,* examining especially how this series of images became connected with notions of kingship. While the primary function of these images may have been as palladia of the realm, they were also used to legitimize kingship, to confer merit, and to record filial piety.

I remain in Sumatra in chapter 5 to discuss an image of Heruka that was found at the northern site of Padang Lawas. Although the iconography of the image is fairly standard, interesting questions are raised by the fact that the statue was deliberately smashed to pieces and subsequently lost. When discussing the art of Padang Lawas, scholars have often drawn connections between tantrism and the indigenous beliefs of the Batak people. This chapter examines what we know about connections between the Batak and the ancient remains of Padang Lawas, looking at nineteenth-century reports of how Batak viewed these antiquities, as well as contemporary Batak interpretations.

The final chapter discusses one of Indonesia's most spectacular sculptures, the four-meter-high Buddhist bhairava that was discovered in West Sumatra.

Like several of the previously discussed images, this statue has also been linked to a historical personage, in this case the Sumatran king Ādityawarman. The argument that the colossal bhairava image is a portrait of the king is based primarily on a Dutch scholar's interpretation of one of the many inscriptions left by Ādityawarman.[11] Although Ādityawarman is mostly likely the patron of the statue, it is unlikely that the image was intended to be a portrait. The sculpture itself functions in some of the same ways as the early Malay curse formulas, demarcating boundaries, repelling enemies, and promoting the interests of the king.



CHAPTER ONE

The Development of Buddhism in Sumatra and Java

BEFORE TURNING TO Buddhist statues from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it is important to get a sense of the earlier history of Buddhism in the archipelago. Some of the earliest written information about both Java and Sumatra comes from the diaries of Chinese pilgrims, who used the sea route to reach or return from India and stopped at the islands while waiting for the proper conditions to travel onward. In 414 CE, Faxian (Fa-hsien, Fa-hien) spent an unhappy five months in either Java or Sumatra, where he observed "Buddha's law [was] not sufficient to speak of."[1]

A very different picture emerges from the accounts of Yijing (I Ching, I Tsing), who traveled to Sumatra in the late seventh century.[2] Unlike Faxian's, Yijing's sojourn in Southeast Asia was both fruitful and intentional; in 671 CE he spent half a year in Śrīvijaya (C. Shih-li-fo-shih) studying Sanskrit grammar[3] and two months in Malāyu (C. Mo-lo-yu)[4] before continuing on to India. Returning from his pilgrimage, he once again stayed in Śrīvijaya, translating the texts he had collected and writing his own memoirs.[5] In 689 CE, he made a quick trip back to China then returned to Śrīvijaya, where he stayed for another six years.

By the late seventh century it appears that Śrīvijaya was already a renowned center for Buddhist learning.[6]

> Buddhist priests number more than 1000, whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in the Middle Kingdom (Madhya-deśa, India); the rules and ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the west in order to hear (lectures) and read (the original) he had better stay here one or two years and practise the proper rules and then proceed to Central India.[7]

According to Yijing, the Buddhism of the islands of the "Southern Sea" was predominantly of the Theravāda Mulāsarvāstivādin sect, although in Malāyu "there are a few who belong to the Mahāyāna."[8] Of the five most distinguished Buddhist teachers known to Yijing, one, by the name of Sākyakīrti, resided in Śrīvijaya.[9]

Yijing's memoirs also indicate the important place of images in Buddhist rituals. In particular he describes the celebration of a "fast-day," in which the image of a Buddha is paraded, bathed, and anointed and offered incense, flowers, and music. After the bathing of the image, people gather with offerings of "toilet articles, mirrors, mirror-cases," which are presented in order to gain merit. The priests read a short sutra before the Buddha; then they "sometimes consecrate idols (lit. bless idols), and mark the eyeballs of them, in order to obtain the best reward of happiness."[10]

The development of Buddhism that took place in Indonesia between the visits of the pilgrims Faxian and Yijing can be attributed in part to efforts of Indian monks, such as Kaśmiri Guṇavarman. This former prince sailed to Java from Sri Lanka, before continuing on to China.[11] Some scholars believe that Guṇavarman was responsible for the conversion of a king and queen mother of a kingdom in Java in the early fifth century. Another famous monk, Dharmapāla of Kañcīpuram in South India, is also thought to have traveled to Sumatra to proselytize in the early seventh century.[12] As the head of the university at Nālandā, he would have been well versed in developments in esoteric Buddhism.

Inscriptions of Śrīvijaya

Not only Chinese sources, but also the earliest dated Malay records indicate a significant role for Buddhism in Śrīvijaya. These inscriptions are written in a combination of Old Malay and Sanskrit, and bear dates from 682 to 686 CE.[13] Eight major inscriptions and a number of fragmentary ones have been found in South Sumatra: four in the environs of present-day Palembang and four others at sites several hundred kilometers away, at what must have been the peripheries of the kingdom.[14] E. Edwards McKinnon suggests that these sites may have been "focal points in their respective localities," where "people from the surrounding areas could be assembled to swear allegiance to their overlords."[15] The inscriptions from outlying regions appear to be copies of the inscriptions found near Palembang.

The inscriptions can be divided into three types, each with a different focus. The first example seems to involve the commemoration of the pro-

curement of magic powers. Several of the inscriptions use the terms *siddha, jayasiddhayātrā,* or *siddhayātrā.*[16] While the term *siddha* is often translated as "success," George Coedès believes that in a Malay context the word means "magic powers," like the Sanskrit *siddhi.* Thus *siddhayātrā* is defined as a "journey or pilgrimage from which the pilgrim returns invested with supernatural powers."[17] Several of the smaller inscribed stones found in the Palembang area have this word, alone or with the prefix *jaya-.* In the Kedukan Bukit inscription the term is used in the context of a royal procession. The king is described as leading his army of twenty thousand after attaining these magic powers.

A second group of inscriptions allude to fighting and treason, and suggest that the king's power was, if not precarious, certainly subject to frequent challenges.[18] The longer of these inscriptions have been called curse formulas. Perhaps the most dramatic example is from Telaga Batu and is inscribed on a large stone tablet (1.18 m x 1.48 m). The rounded upper edge of the stele is carved to resemble the spread hood of a seven-headed cobra, while the middle of the lower edge is formed into a small spout (fig. 1.1). The cobra-hood shape of the stele calls to mind images of the Mucalinda *nāga,* who spreads his hood to protect the meditating Buddha. Outside of a Buddhist context, snake imagery is also important in indigenous religions throughout the archipelago.

The Telaga Batu inscription is striking not only because of the shape of its stele, but also because of the strong imprecations that make up the bulk of the text. In some ways the epigraph seems to document the king's paranoia, as it proclaims a curse on a long retinue of figures both within and outside the court. This fear of traitors *(drohaka)* is also echoed in the Kota Kapur and Karang Brahi inscriptions.[19] The Telaga Batu inscription repeatedly refers to the curse being "drunk"; probably the oath takers would have had to drink water that was poured over the stone itself, thus immediately testing their allegiance.[20]

While the drinking of an oath is not necessarily a tantric ritual, the Telaga Batu inscription, according to J. G. de Casparis, definitely refers to esoteric rites.[21] This can be seen in the terminology used to describe the many ways in which the king's enemies could plot treason and also the king's rewards to subjects for their loyalty. The inscription curses those who use various tools for purposes of treachery. These devices include a "bowl full of blood,"[22] a *śrīyantra,*[23] images,[24] ashes, herbs,[25] *mantras,* and *vaśīkaraṇa* ceremonies.[26] Subjects who were loyal were granted a *tantrāmala,* a term that de Casparis interprets as a "formula leading to Final Liberation."

Unlike the inscriptions discussed above, the third type of inscription, found



FIGURE 1.1. Inscribed stone, seventh century, Telaga Batu (Sabokingking), South Sumatra, h 2.25 m × w 1.48 m, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 155

at Talang Tuwo, is not a curse formula, but in many ways just the opposite of one. This inscription commemorates the construction of a park, Śrīkṣetra, by King Śrī Jananāśa, for the benefit of all beings. In the opening lines of the epigraph, the inscription refers to itself as a *pranidāna,* a vow taken by an individual to help all sentient creatures achieve enlightenment before doing so oneself (also known as a bodhisattva vow).

Other phrases of the inscription also make Buddhist references. Among the long list of blessings wished upon all beings are the following: "May the thought of Bodhi be born in them," "May they not be separated from the Three Jewels," "[May they practice] continuously generosity, observance of precepts, patience," "May knowledge, diligence, knowledge of all the arts be born in them," "[May they rejoice in the] mastery of birth, the mastery of the karman, and mastery of impurities," and "May they finally obtain complete and supreme Enlightenment."[27] As Coedès noted, several of these (including the practice of the six *pāramitās*) are stages on the bodhisattva's path to enlightenment.[28] The inscription, which celebrates the king's good deeds *(sucarita),* also seeks to transfer his merit *(punya)* to others and to lead them along the path to enlightenment. Thus this seventh-century inscription equates the

king with a bodhisattva, a practice that we will see again, centuries later, in connection with the Amoghapāśa statue of Rambahan.

Besides these terms that fit comfortably within Mahāyāna Buddhism, the inscription also contains a word that further suggests existence of tantric practices in Sumatra in the seventh century. The twelfth line of the Talang Tuwo inscription uses the term *vajraśarīra* or "diamond body."[29] For followers of tantric Buddhism the attainment of a *vajraśarīra* was a necessary step toward the realization of enlightenment.[30]

Later Evidence of Esoteric Buddhism in Sumatra

The evidence of esoteric Buddhism in Sumatra in the late seventh century should not be surprising; by the beginning of the next century, some of the most famous Indian monks and teachers stayed in Śrīvijaya before traveling on to China. Vajrabodhi and his pupil Amoghavajra are thought to have visited Śrīvijaya in the early eighth century; they were later instrumental in the spread of esoteric Buddhism to China and Japan.

By the middle of the ninth century, a Sumatran king, Bālaputra, had funded the establishment of a monastery at the prominent Buddhist site of Nālandā in northeastern India. This information is recorded on a copper plate land grant issued by the Pāla king Devapāladeva and found at Nālandā.[31] The inscription describes Mahārāja Bālaputra as the Ādhipa of Suvarṇadvīpa and the grandson of the king *(bhūmipala)* of Java (Yava), who is called the ornament of the Śailendra family. The inscription is significant not only because it demonstrates the patronage of an Indian establishment by a Sumatran ruler, but also because of the information it gives us about the relationship between the royal families of Java and Sumatra.[32]

The Śrīvijayan Buddhist community was presumably still strong in the early eleventh century, when the Indian monk Atīśa (Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna), traveled there to study with the renowned master Dharmakīrti.[33]

> From among all these gurus, the one unencompassable by thought, absolutely matchless, without rival, was Guru Suvarnadvipa, "the Golden Islander." His name was Dharmakirti, "Dharma Fame." Although he lived on Golden Island [Sumatra], his fame pervaded the entire [Buddhist] world and he was like the crown jewel of all Buddhists. It was said that he was the foremost teacher of [the training in] loving-kindness and compassion, and when the lord [Atisa] heard about him, [he was confident that] the Golden Island teacher had been his guru over innumerable previous lives. Merely

by hearing his name, an extraordinary faith and devotion arose in him. Greatly affected in mind, he joined a group of merchants on their way to get precious stones from Golden Island, and set out in a great ship."[34]

The only Buddhist text that has survived from Śrīvijaya is entitled *Durbodhāloka* and is attributed to Dharmakīrti. It exists only in a Tibetan translation by Atīśa completed under the patronage of a king named Cūḍāmaṇivarman.[35] This same king is also mentioned in the grant called the Great Charter of Leiden of the Cōḷa king Rājarāja I that was found near Nāgapaṭṭinam in South India.[36] According to that inscription, Māravijayōttuṅgavarman, the son of Cūḍāmaṇivarman, constructed a *vihāra* (monastery) in his father's name at that location.[37] Once again we have evidence of an Indonesian ruler establishing a monastery in India; presumably the number of pilgrims from the archipelago was sufficient to warrant such a construction.

Despite this evidence of the royal support of Buddhism by Śrīvijayan rulers both at home and abroad, the material evidence of Buddhist practices in Sumatra itself is far less substantial than one would expect. Reasons for the relatively small number of artifacts found in Sumatra as compared to Java could be in part attributed to different settlement patterns, and show the real need for continued excavation in Sumatra. Nik Hassan Shuhaimi has documented many of the early Buddhist artifacts in his theses on the art of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula.[38]

After the decline of the Śrīvijayan empire, remnants of tantric Buddhist beliefs can be seen in the inscriptions and sculpture of Ādityawarman, the Malāyu king who ruled in West Sumatra in the fourteenth century. These works, which will be discussed in the chapters to follow, represent the last traces of the long tradition of Buddhism in Sumatra; by the time of Ādityawarman's death, much of the island had already begun to convert to Islam.

Buddhism in Java

In Java we see less of a continuum of evidence of Buddhist practice. Recent excavations in West Java indicate the presence of *stūpa*-shaped structures and Buddhist votive tablets at the site of Batujaya, about forty kilometers east of Jakarta.[39] This site is associated with the fifth-century kingdom of Taruma, although the Buddhist remains likely date from the seventh or eighth century.

The earliest Buddhist statues found in the archipelago depict standing buddhas in a style that has been associated with Amarāvatī, but most likely

originated from Anurādhapura in Sri Lanka.[40] These images, dating from the sixth to eighth centuries, probably accompanied missionaries or traders on their journeys east.[41] Images were manufactured locally from perhaps as early as the seventh century until the late tenth or eleventh century. For reasons not yet known, there is a dearth of both architecture and sculpture in Java from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.[42] The late thirteenth to mid-fourteenth centuries experienced resumption in the construction of temples, stone sculpture, and bronze ritual objects, but for some reason bronze images of deities were rarely made.

The early history of Central Java has often been discussed in terms of two competing dynasties; inscriptions mention a line of Hindu kings called the Sanjaya in the north and a line of Buddhist rulers, the Śailendra, in the south.[43] Discoveries of remnants of Buddha and bodhisattva images from Selomerto in northern Java have made archaeologists reexamine this geographical dichotomy.[44] The question remains whether the Sanjaya and Śailendra represent two separate lines of sovereigns who ruled distinct kingdoms at the same time or whether they were different branches of a single dynastic line. The two-dynasty theory is buttressed by the fact that different royal names are mentioned in the inscription of Candi Kalasan.[45] But recently, several scholars have convincingly argued that different regnal names for a single king, sometimes in Sanskriticized form, sometimes in Old Javanese, were used for different occasions and do not necessarily designate different rulers.[46]

Curiously, there is little evidence of Theravāda Buddhism in Central Java; the first dated temple, Candi Kalasan of 778 CE, is dedicated to Tārā. During the Central Javanese period, Hindu and Buddhist temples were built side by side, reflecting what must have been an atmosphere of both cooperation and competition.[47] It is possible that successive rulers sponsored different religions or that a single ruler could have supported the construction of both Buddhist and Hindu monuments.

The greater number of Hindu temples on Java has led some scholars to suggest that Hinduism was the religion of the people, while primarily the elite practiced Buddhism.[48] According to Jan Fontein, this theory is refuted by the distribution of metallic images in ancient Java; Buddhist bronzes have been found in greater number and over a wider area than Hindu bronzes.[49] This discrepancy might reflect differences in ritual practices. Or, as Fontein suggests, it might reflect that Buddhists may have restored sanctuaries rather than built new ones because of the merit accrued through such activities.[50] Candi Kalasan is but one example of a Buddhist temple that was expanded

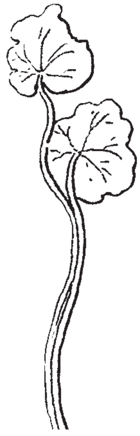
during several periods of construction. But Buddhists were not the only ones concerned with the reconstruction of temples; literary evidence from East Java tells us that kings were also involved in the renovation of Hindu temples.[51]

Whatever the reasons for the larger number of Hindu antiquities, it seems unlikely that the masses were converted to either of these religions. To the extent that they were at all influenced by Indic religions, it is probable that, for the vast majority of Indonesians, Hinduism or Buddhism was deeply entwined with older indigenous practices. Literary references to royal visits to sacred geographical sites indicate that even the elite continued to worship local cults.

The erection of a number of Buddhist monuments between the late eighth and ninth centuries is evidence of a brief period of strong state support by the Śailendra rulers. This explosion of architectural creativity finds its apogee in the construction of the monument of Borobudur on the Kedu plain. The complex structure and iconography of Borobudur has provided a wealth of material for theories about the nature of Buddhist practice in Central Java. Scholars have been able to identify some of the texts that are depicted on the terraces, but larger questions about the overall program of the monument remain subject to debate.[52]

After the mid-ninth century the construction of Buddhist temples in Central Java comes to an end. Bronze images continue to be made in both Central Java until the tenth century and in East Java until the early eleventh century. Bronze hordes from sites such as Surocolo and Nganjuk have yielded a spectacular array of deities, organized into complex *maṇḍalas* (circles). The manufacture of this type of bronze statuary ceases by the twelfth century, suggesting changes in religious practices. Although many beautiful ritual items associated with worship (containers, *vajras* [pronged implements symbolizing permanency], bells, *khakkara* [finials], lamps) continued to be made, we find few freestanding images of deities.

During the East Javanese period Buddhist stone structures were rarely built, and both artistic and literary evidence suggest that the religion of the courts was predominantly Hindu.[53] An interesting development during the Singasari and Majapahit dynasties is the production of numerous statues that seem to hold both Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite attributes.[54] In contrast to those sculptures, most of the Buddhist statues produced during this period do not deviate from Indian iconographic conventions. These Buddhist statues, though small in number, are spectacular in appearance, and as I will demonstrate in the chapters to follow, often had political as well as religious significance.



CHAPTER TWO

Joko Dolok and the Politics of Royal Asceticism

THE STATUE KNOWN AS Joko Dolok sits today under a banyan tree in a small municipal park in central Surabaya (fig. 2.1).[1] Other assorted antiquities line the paths of the park, but this statue, placed upon a painted platform, is clearly the center of attention. The image is still worshipped: incense is placed before it, a beaded choker is tied around its neck, and flower petals are strewn on its lap.[2]

At first glance the statue appears to be an image of a Buddha. The thickset figure sits in *padmāsana,* his left hand upturned in his lap and the right in the earth-touching gesture *(bhūmisparśa mudrā),* the *mudrā* associated with Śakyamuni's moment of enlightenment, as well as with the cosmic Buddha Akṣobhya. Upon closer inspection it becomes evident that the statue has neither *ūrṇā, uṣṇīṣa,* nor curved ringlets — the *lakṣana* generally associated with Buddha images. Although the head has suffered from damage and from poor attempts at restoration, it is clear that it is closely shaven, like that of a monk. The statue's monastic status is also reflected in the fact that he sits on a plain cushion instead of a lotus throne.

Many of the Buddhist statues of Singasari and Majapahit dynasties are distinguished by their fine craftsmanship. They are exquisitely carved, well-proportioned, idealized images. The Joko Dolok statue is quite the opposite. The image is remarkable for its awkwardness rather than its grace. The paunchy figure sits, his slightly stooped posture emphasizing the thickness of his thighs and waist (fig. 2.2). The impression of ungainliness is no doubt exacerbated by the damage to the head of the statue, which sits atop a short, thick neck. The remnants of cement, or perhaps paint, on the eye sockets and nose give the image an eerie countenance. The statue's unconventional appearance is irreverently reflected in the name by which it is known today, Joko Dolok, meaning "fat boy" or "Brother Fatso."

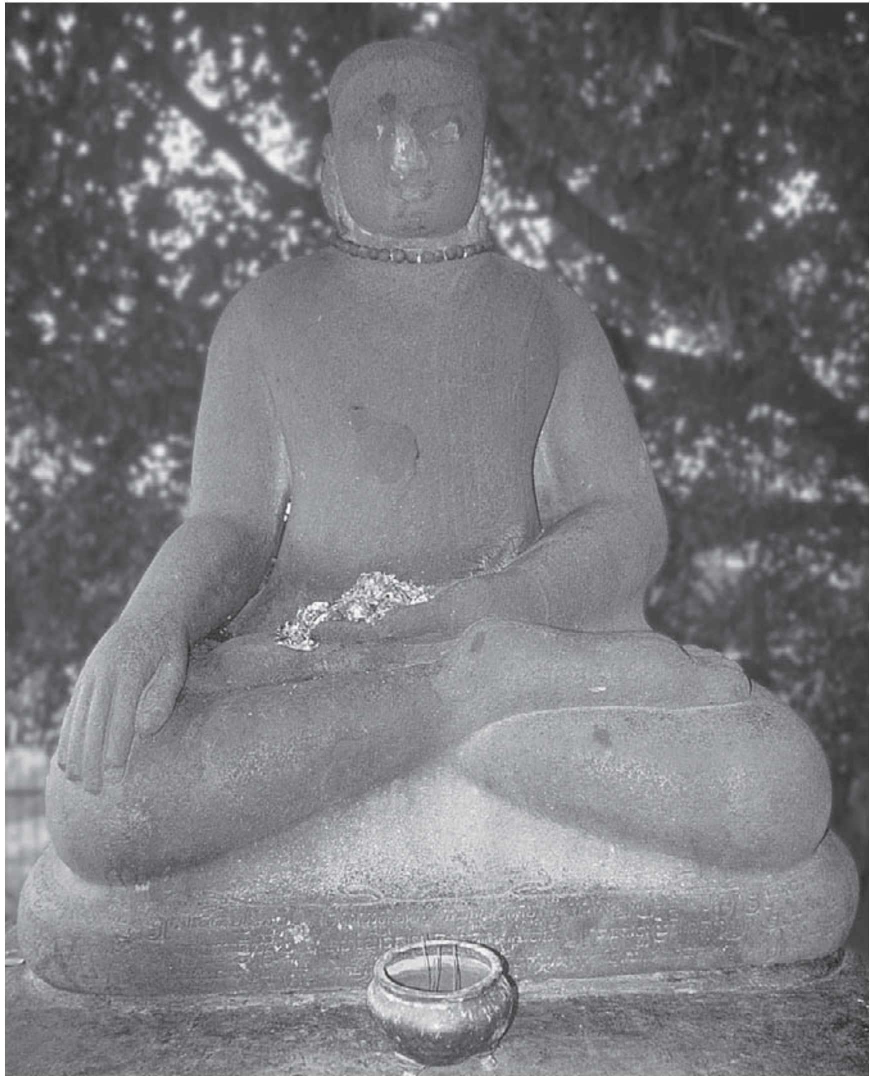


FIGURE 2.1. Joko Dolok, 1289, Taman Apsara, Surabaya, East Java, h 1.80 m

The statue's plain appearance belies the fact that it is one of the most interesting late Buddhist images in Java. It is the only sculpture that most scholars agree is a "portrait-statue," and is associated with King Kṛtanagara, the last ruler of the Singasari dynasty, who was considered responsible for the florescence of tantric Buddhism in Java at the end of the thirteenth century. This identification is based on a long inscription on the base of the statue itself, as well as information from the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,* a court chronicle written by a Buddhist poet for the Majapahit king Rājasanagara (Hayam Wuruk) (1350–

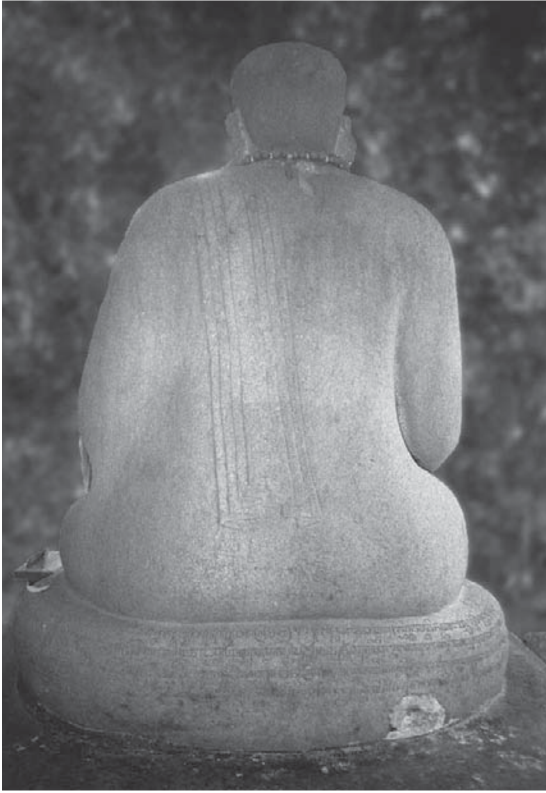


FIGURE 2.2. Joko Dolok, rear of figure 2.1

1389).[3] The inscription and the relevant passages of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* are very difficult to interpret; as with much ancient Javanese material, our understanding of the language is limited, despite the best efforts of scholars. The information we can glean from these sources reveals the complexity of religion in east Java during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

This chapter revolves around the Joko Dolok image and its religious as well as political implications. Any study of Buddhism during this period must discuss the patron of the image, Kṛtanagara, and the nature of religious practices in his court. Although literary sources have been used to argue that Śaivism and Buddhism had merged during the Singasari and Majapahit dynasties, these sources are ambiguous, and there is little artistic evidence of such syncretism. The odd iconography of the Joko Dolok image does not indicate its syncretic nature; rather, it alludes to the spiritual and political aspirations of its patron. Finally, a comparison of this statue with the famous Khmer "portraits" of King Jayavarman VII (ca. 1181–1218), places the Javanese image in a larger Southeast Asian context.

The Image

The thirteenth-century Joko Dolok statue is not the first Javanese statue that resembles a monk. Several images of monks were carved in Central Java during the ninth century. Perhaps the most beautiful example comes from Candi Plaosan near Prambanan (fig. 2.3).[4] The figure sits in *padmāsana,* with his head slightly bowed and his hands in his lap in meditation *(dhyāna mudrā).* Describing the Central Javanese images, Jan Fontein writes that the "subtle differences in the shape and expression of the faces suggest that these statues do not merely represent a type or class of people, but that they portray actual persons."[5] In ancient India, monks and nuns were often donors to religious monuments, and it is probable that these Javanese statues represent donors.[6] Numerous inscriptions found at Candi Plaosan list the names and titles of individuals who may have contributed to the construction or maintenance of the site. Carvings of human figures on the walls of the interior of temple are also thought to portray patrons.

In contrast to the Plaosan monk, the Joko Dolok image displays the *bhūmisparśa mudrā,* a gesture that is unusual for a monk because it is not associated with meditation or adoration. Besides the *mudrā,* the style of dress between Joko Dolok and the Central Javanese monk images also differs. The Candi Plaosan statue wears a thin robe, one end of which is draped high over his left shoulder and intricately folded between his crossed legs. The diaphanous robe clings to the monk's slender body, revealing his nipple and belly button.

The shawl of the Joko Dolok is not translucent, and is also wider and longer, curving over his shoulder and reaching his waist. Neatly folded, it falls equally far down the back of the image. Fourteenth-century Buddha statues from Candi Sanggrahan in East Java indicate that this may have been the style of monk's dress during this period (fig. 2.4). A further comparison with these nearly contemporaneous Buddha images emphasizes the thickset proportions of Joko Dolok. The Sanggrahan buddhas have narrow torsos, thin arms, and long, attenuated fingers. In contrast, Joko Dolok's body has an inflated appearance, which is especially evident in his short, puffy fingers.

The ungainliness of the Joko Dolok image might at first be attributed to an unskillful sculptor. This possibility is mitigated by two factors: first, the patron of the image chose to have it inscribed, indicating, one would assume, his acceptance of the statue; and second, there is another smaller replica of this image, now in Malang, with nearly identical features (fig. 2.5).[7] This second image not only has a similar body type, but also a short neck and square head, which is emphasized by his straight hairline and deep brow ridge. The

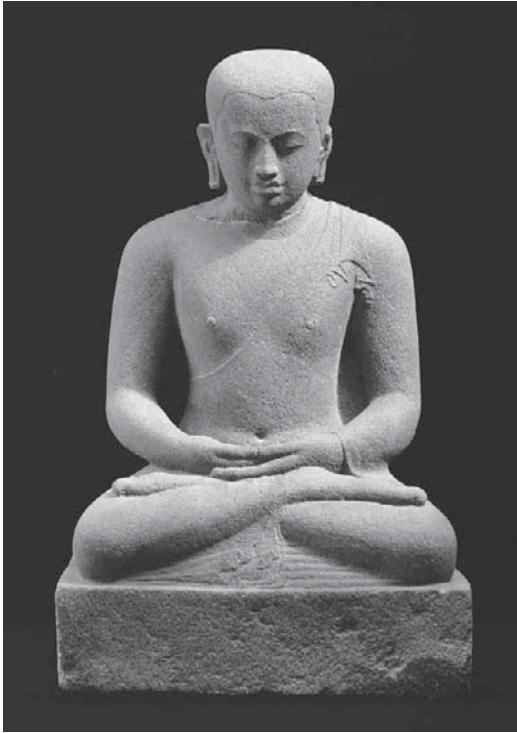


FIGURE 2.3. Meditating monk, mid-ninth century, from Candi Plaosan, Central Java, h 1.06 m, Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Jawa Tengah, Prambanan



FIGURE 2.4. Akṣobhya, fourteenth century, from Candi Sanggrahan, East Java

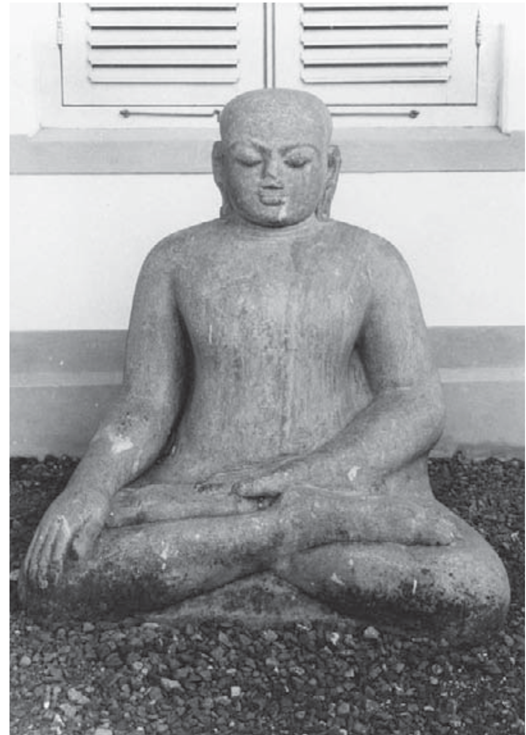


FIGURE 2.5. Seated figure in *bhūmisparśa mudrā,* late thirteenth century, Malang, East Java, h 1.39 m

existence of these two images with similar features strengthens the argument that they are portrait statues. An inscription on the base of the Joko Dolok statue mentions King Kṛtanagara, the last king of the Singasari dynasty, and the image itself has long been considered his portrait.

The Inscription

Nineteen verses of Sanskrit text run in four lines around the base of the statue (see fig. 2.2). These verses have been interpreted in light of passages from the fourteenth-century Javanese chronicle the *Nāgarakṛtāgama.* The inscription was originally translated by Hendrik Kern in 1910, and then reassessed by Poerbatjaraka in 1922. In 1986, Max Nihom published an article reinterpreting the inscription and arguing that the statue originally stood at Candi Jawi in East Java. Almost a decade later Lokesh Chandra also examined the inscription, questioning many of Nihom's assertions and refuting his conclusions. [8]

A chronogram in the middle of the inscription gives the date of 1289 CE. The author, Nādajña, the head of ecclesiastical affairs, is named in the last two verses. The rest of the text is concerned with two events. The first part of the inscription describes the sage Ārya Bharāḍa, who divided Java into

two realms, Janggala (later known as Singasari) and Pañjalu (later known as Kaḍiri). The Singasari king Wiṣṇuwardhana (1248–1268) is then praised as the ruler who reunited the country. The second part of the inscription describes the reconsecration of the image by Wiṣṇuwardhana's son, Kṛtanagara, for his own welfare and that of his family. In the inscription Kṛtanagara is referred to as Śrī Jñānaśivabajrā; he was also known by the *jinābhiṣeka* (consecration) names Jñanabajreśwara and Jñāneśwarabajra.[9]

The division of Java into two realms is mentioned in other ancient sources, which relate that an earlier king, Airlangga (1016–1049), was responsible for the partition before his death.[10] The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* relates how Airlangga asked a "Buddhist of the Mahāyana school, a master of the Tantra and a lord of yogis, [w]ho dwelt in the midst of the cemetery at Lemah Citra" to divide his realm for his two sons.[11] It is this Buddhist master, named Bharāḍa, who is also mentioned in the beginning of the Joko Dolok inscription.

Airlangga is considered one of the first great kings of Java, responsible for the expansion of his realm through war and marriage alliances. Inscriptions also attest to his support for religion and the arts. Toward the end of his reign, his inscriptions use a titular designation that mixes both royal and secular names. N. J. Krom and others have interpreted this as evidence that the king withdrew from the court to become a hermit.[12] This would follow in the tradition of many Javanese rulers, who used asceticism first to gain power, and then retired into a religious life in their old age.[13] It was believed that through meditation one could gain a level of spiritual power that rivaled the gods."[14] The Joko Dolok as a sculpture in monk's garb may be alluding to this tradition of royal asceticism, whose most famous proponent was the eleventh-century king Airlangga.

After Airlangga's division of the realm, the reunification of Java is often credited to Rājasa (more commonly known as Ken Angrok), the founder of the Singasari dynasty, although the merging of Janggala and Kaḍiri may have actually taken place before his usurpation of the throne.[15] The fact that the Joko Dolok inscription attributes this reunification to Wiṣṇuwardhana instead of Ken Angrok may reflect Kṛtanagara's aggrandizement of his own father's stature. Although we have few records of Wiṣṇuwardhana's reign, it is clear that his son Kṛtanagara made elaborate efforts to venerate his father after his death. In the Joko Dolok inscription Wiṣṇuwardhana is highly praised. Candi Jago and its Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* of statues, as well as bronze replicas of the *maṇḍala,* were made by Kṛtanagara in commemoration of Wiṣṇuwardhana (see chapter 4).

In the tortuous history of the Singasari dynasty, Wiṣṇuwardhana did not

seem to play a significant role.[16] He is believed to have assumed the throne in 1248, and ruled with his nephew until 1254. At that point, his son Kṛtanagara, the patron of the Joko Dolok statue, reigned as regent, until assuming the throne after his father's death in 1268.

Much more is known about Kṛtanagara than his father. The two literary sources most often used in studies of ancient Javanese history, the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* and the *Pararaton,* each give widely divergent pictures of Kṛtanagara. The earlier text, the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,* praises the king for both his military and spiritual prowess, while in contrast the sixteenth-century *Pararaton* describes a much less efficient ruler, who was often drunk on palm wine.[17] As H. Kern wrote, upon comparing these two literary portraits, "Either the poet (Prapanca) or the chronicle *(Pararaton)* is not telling the truth."[18]

Subsequent explorations of the religious practices of Kṛtanagara demonstrate that, above all, these conflicting portrayals of the ruler reflect each author's opinions about esoteric religious practices.[19] During tantric rites, forbidden acts, such as the drinking of alcoholic beverages, were intentionally committed. As Benedict Anderson writes, "The systematic indulgence of the sensual passions in their most extreme form was believed to exhaust these passions, and therefore to allow a man's power to be concentrated without further hindrance."[20] Thus Kṛtanagara's behavior could be interpreted as pious by the Buddhist author of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,* and as deviant by the presumably Śaivite writer of the *Pararaton*.

Kṛtanagara is also famous for his expansionist policies, with overtures toward Sunda, Madura, Sumatra, and Bali.[21] His initial conquests paved the way for those of the later Majapahit dynasty. His military exploits coincided with those of another Asian ruler, Khubilai Khan. The Mongols had begun their invasions to the south with an attack on Nanchao in 1253. This was followed by attacks against Vietnam, the Southern Sung, Burma, and Japan between 1257 and 1281. Most scholars date the first Mongol mission to Java to 1289. According to the *Yuanshi,* Khubilai Khan sent an emissary, Meng-qi, to Kṛtanagara's court, seeking tribute from the Javanese ruler. His face was disfigured before he and the other envoys were sent back.[22] In retaliation, the Mongols sent a fleet to attack Java, but by the time the armies had arrived, Kṛtanagara had already been assassinated. Javanese accounts, in a striking contrast, do not mention Meng-qi, and describe the Mongol armies not as enemies but as accomplices in the efforts to restore the throne to its rightful heir after the death of Kṛtanagara.[23]

It has been suggested that Kṛtanagara undertook initiation in a Hevajra cult, in fear of the Mongol threat and as a response to Khubilai Khan's own

initiation into that cult.[24] It is possible that through his own consecration Kṛtanagara was trying to gain a *cakravartin* status, similar to that claimed by Khubilai Khan, after his initiation into the rites of Hevajra. Both men had similar expansionist policies, and such a consecration would have served a political purpose by providing a religious legitimization of his sovereignty.[25] But Khubilai Khan's adoption of esoteric Buddhism served his political needs in relation to his connections with Buddhist Tibet, while it is more difficult to say how such beliefs would have served Kṛtanagara.

Returning to the Joko Dolok inscription, after three verses that praise Kṛtanagara, emphasizing his knowledge of the dharma, the reconsecration of the image itself is mentioned. The verse reads *subhaktyā taṁ pratṣṭhāpya svayam pūrvvam pratiṣṭhitaṁ śmaśāne Vurarenāmni Mahākṣobhyānurūpataḥ*. It states that the image, which had been previously consecrated in person *(svayaṃ),* was reconsecrated with devotion at the cemetery named Wurare in conformity with Mahākṣobhya. Several early translators interpreted the passage to mean that the king erected a statue of himself as Akṣobhya, but *Mahākṣobhyānurūpataḥ* does not mean "as Akṣobhya" but "with a likeness to" Mahākṣobhya or "in conformity with" Mahākṣobhya.

But what does "in conformity with Mahākṣobhya" mean? Chandra suggests that the "re-consecration was done according to *(anurūpataḥ)* the esoteric rites of Mahākṣobhya," but can only speculate about the nature of these rites.[26] Most scholars have described the statue as an image of Akṣobhya, but the iconography of the image neither adheres to standard depictions of the cosmic Buddha nor matches depictions of the historical Buddha at the moment of enlightenment. The Joko Dolok statue lacks the *ūrṇā, uṣṇīṣa,* and idealized body form seen in other Javanese depictions of buddhas; instead, it has a large body and the shaven head of a monk.[27]

Kern, Bosch, Poerbatjaraka, Nihom, and Chandra have all carefully examined the Joko Dolok inscription, but none has looked closely at the iconographical oddities of the statue itself. What can the odd iconography of this image mean? Why would Kṛtanagara commission an image of a monk in the *bhūmisparśa mudrā*? One possibility is that it is meant to convey Śakyamuni's enlightenment and thus refer to the king's own similarly enlightened state. But the mention of Mahākṣobhya in the inscription, and the fact that the statue is in the *mudrā* of Akṣobhya, suggests that the image is also supposed to represent a monk in the guise of Akṣobhya.

The depiction of an unidealized human form with the *bhumisparśa mudrā* could suggest that the image portrays a person becoming one with the cosmic Buddha. The fact that the inscription highly praises Kṛtanagara's religious

devotion and mentions Mahākṣobhya possibly implies that the king, through his own spiritual powers, was able to unite with the deity.

Kṛtanagara's choice of a statue of a figure made "in conformity with Mahākṣobhya" does not obviate the possibility that he was involved in a Hevajra or Guhyasamāja cult (as suggested by Nihom and Chandra), as both wrathful deities are emanations of Akṣobhya. Akṣobhya was an important deity in the archipelago during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Other images associated with the cosmic Buddha have been found, including a statue of Heruka from Padang Lawas, two images of a bhairava with Akṣobhya in his headdress from Sumatra and East Java, and a colossal image of the buddha from East Java (see chapters 5 and 6).

If the Joko Dolok statue is an image of Kṛtanagara unified with Akṣobhya, it would represent a unique case of a ruler's apotheosis during his lifetime. It is ironic that the ruler most known for his involvement in the heterodox rites of esoteric Buddhism has left us such a benign statue. Demonic imagery related to esoteric practices has been found in Java and Sumatra, but none can be directly linked to Kṛtanagara. What were the tantric practices during the late Singasari and Majapahit dynasties? By examining the evidence concerning these tantric practices we can begin to understand both Kṛtanagara's Joko Dolok and the other late Buddhist art of Indonesia.

Tantric Practices in Indonesia

While it might first appear that esoteric practices emerged in full bloom in East Java during the late thirteenth century, there is actually much earlier evidence of such worship from the Ratu Boko Plateau in Central Java. A Sanskrit inscription from the middle of the ninth century contains some of the earliest indications of Javanese tantric practices. The inscription is full of double entendres that allude to both the terrifying form of Śiva and an ascetic king in meditation. It reads:

> Thou who art wrapped in a (tiger) skin [or: dressed in tree bark], bearing the blood-stained crowns of innumerable kings as a wreath while Thy neck arms and legs are adorned with the king of the hooded ones [or, distinguished by Patanjali], dancing at the abode of the Fathers and carrying away a corpse (?) — glory to the ten quarters.[28]

J. G. de Casparis reads the inscription as being both addressed to Śiva and "also a homage to the king practicing austerities on the cemetery grounds."[29] Scattered artifacts, such as a bronze skullcap believed to date from between

the eighth and tenth centuries, have been found in central Java, but the information regarding their discovery is vague.[30]

Besides these tantalizing traces, most of the other literary and inscriptional evidence from the early Central Javanese period indicates the practice of Mahāyāna Buddhism, not esoteric Buddhism. This clearly changed in the mid to late tenth century, when complex bronze *maṇḍalas* were manufactured in both Central and East Java. Tantric rituals are detailed in an Old Javanese Buddhist text, the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan,* which dates from the first half of the tenth century.

Other inscriptional evidence attests to the presence in Java of a tantric sect of Śaivism (Bhairavapakṣa) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[31] The Bendosari and Sekar[32] inscriptions from the mid-fourteenth century, as well as the later Javanese text the *Tantu Panggelaran* (ca. 1500 CE), mention this sect. Ascetics worshipping Heruka while practicing tantric yoga among corpses on the battlefield are mentioned in the fourteenth-century poem *Sutasoma.*[33] Hariani Santiko argues that the Bhairava sect in Java was probably the same as a Kāpālika sect, known in Southern India.[34] The term *kāpālikabrata* was used in the late-tenth-century Old Javanese text *Udyogaparwa.*[35] Santiko's descriptions of the Kāpālika sect rely heavily on David Lorenzen's research in India, and she speculates that tantric practices were identical in Java.[36]

Literary Connections: The Joko Dolok and the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*

Both tantric Buddhism and esoteric Hinduism were practiced in Java during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. King Kṛtanagara was the first royal figure who left a significant body of evidence of tantric beliefs and practices. Mpu Prapañca, the Buddhist author of the fourteenth-century *Nāgarakṛtāgama,* written during the rule of Kṛtanagara's grandson, paints a glowing portrait of the king. He is described as being the most famous of the ancient rulers, who was "very virtuous, firm in his Buddhist observances and very energetic in the rites for application of magic."[37] After several cantos describing Kṛtanagara's military exploits, the poet goes on to discuss his religious piety.

> [t]he King was not negligent, was free of intoxication, and was more and more energetic in his policy,
> For he had realized how difficult it is to protect the world in the age of Kali.

This is why he held fast to esoteric doctrines and observances, and was firmly committed to the sect of the Buddhists,
In order to imitate the kings of old, and to guarantee the continued prosperity of the world.
. . . the King was firmly devoted to the Śākhya Lion,
And attentively adhering to the Five Commandments he was inaugurated and duly consecrated.
The name under which he was consecrated as a Jina, Jñanabajreśwara, is widely known,
And the King studied the scriptures on reasoning, analysis and so on till he was completely accomplished.
But as he grew somewhat older he held to all sorts of esoteric rites;
Mainly of course it was the Subhūti Tantra the essence of which he guarded and cherished in his heart.
He applied himself to worship, yoga and meditation for the stability of the whole world,
Not to mention the Gaṇacakra always accompanied by gifts, beloved of his subjects.[38]

There is a clear parallel between this passage, in which Kṛtanagara is consecrated as a Jina under the name Jñanabajreśwara, and the Joko Dolok inscription, in which the ruler, known by the name Jñānaśiwabajra, reconsecrates an image that is in the gesture of the Jina Akṣobhya. These passages have reinforced scholars' beliefs that the Joko Dolok statue represented Kṛtanagara as Akṣobhya.

Another section of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* mentions a Jina image, again in connection with Kṛtanagara. Some scholars have also interpreted this Jina image as a reference to the Joko Dolok image. The text is confusing because it mentions at least two and possibly three posthumous statues of the king. The canto reads:

As "He who is released in the realms of Śiwa and Buddha" His Majesty was laid to rest, people say;
Here is the place where he is enshrined as a Śiwa-Buddha statue of imposing fineness.
And at Sagala he has been set up as a Jina statue of the utmost splendour,
Furthermore as an *ardhanareśwarī* together with Śri Bajradewī,
His companion in the increase of the world, one in rites and observances —

The divinities Wairocana and Locanā are their image in one statue,
which is famous among the people.[39]

The meaning of these cantos of the poem is ambiguous, and the ambiguity has led to a wide variety of interpretations concerning the number and the type of commemorative statues.[40] Robson's translation of the passage seems to differentiate three images — Śiva-Buddha, a Jina statue, and a statue of Ardhanārīśvara (Ardhanareśwarī) — but the earlier translation by Th. Pigeaud suggests only two images.[41] Part of the confusion is caused by the unusual description of the Ardhanārīśvara image that does not combine Śiva and Pārvatī, but instead the Buddhist deities Vairocana and Locanā.[42]

Equally enigmatic is a third passage of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* that describes Candi Jajawa (now known as Candi Jawi):

Now the character of the foundation in the past is of course well-known:
It was a pious work of King Kṛtanagara, the great-grandfather of the King.
Moreover it was he who ruled over it in bodily form, and he alone,
And hence it was both Śaiwas and Buddhists who always used to worship there.
As a sign of this the *caṇḍi* below was Śaiwa, with a Buddhist pinnacle above,
And within was a splendid image of Śiwa of limitless fineness;
A statuette of Akṣobhya above the crown was undoubtedly its highest point,
And it was through its supernatural powers that it was destroyed, being truly of the highest essence of Void.[43]

This passage has been interpreted in two ways. According to the first interpretation the *candi* contained one image, a statue of Śiva with a small image of Akṣobhya in its crown.[44] No statues of this sort have been found at the site, although, as mentioned previously, images of a bhairava with Akṣobhya in his crown have been found at Candi Jago and in Sumatra. A second theory is that two separate statues were erected at the site.[45] The first was a Śiva image displayed below in the main sanctum. The second was an Akṣobhya statue that was hidden in the temple's *stūpa*-crowned superstructure.

The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* goes on to describe the mysterious disappearance of the Buddhist image and the simultaneous damage to the *candi* by lightning.[46] (A subsequent restoration may have slightly altered the original structure of

the building.)[47] Chandra interprets the disappearance of the Buddhist image to mean that the Śiva statue once wore a detachable Akṣobhya crown that was removed and melted down.[48] We have no evidence of such jewelry, but it is possible that such a precious item would have been later melted down. Nevertheless, Chandra's theory does seem unlikely, as most statues from this period have elaborately designed headdresses carved in stone. In fact, remnants of a large Śiva image were discovered at the site. The carved headdress of this statue contained a small skull, a characteristic attribute of Śiva.

In summary, the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* seems to describe five statues that were associated with Kṛtanagara: a Śiva-Buddha at Singasari,[49] a Jina and an Ardhanāri at Sagala, and a Śiva and Akṣobhya at Candi Jawi (Jajawa). Could one of the two known "Akṣobhya" statues, the Joko Dolok or its cousin in Malang, be one of the statues mentioned by the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*? The provenance of both of the statues is still in question. The inscription states that Joko Dolok was initially consecrated at the cemetery called Wurare, a site that has not been satisfactorily identified. The Dutch discovered the statue at Kandang Gajah near the village of Bejijong in Trowulan.[50] The remnants of a stone base for wood pillars indicate that it was considered sacred and enclosed within a temple or shelter.[51] Poerbatjaraka hypothesizes that the statue was moved to Trowulan, the new capital of the Majapahit dynasty, in the fourteenth century, at some point before the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* was written.[52] This would explain why it is not mentioned in the chronicle. In the early nineteenth century the statue was moved to Surabaya.[53]

Max Nihom's arguments that the original location of the Joko Dolok image was at Candi Jawi are unconvincing to my mind.[54] He contends that there was one image at the temple, the Joko Dolok, which is a combination of Śiwa and Buddha. More specifically, the statue was regarded "as a representation of Śiva-Amoghasiddhi erected after the consecration of Kertanagara whose person in [is?] Viṣṇu-Akṣobhya as Mahākṣobhya."[55] Much of Nihom's argument is overly hypothetical, and above all it ignores the fact that the remnants of a large Śiva statue were found at the site.

I think it is more likely that there were two separate statues. If this were the case, worshippers would not have been able to see the Akṣobhya image, as it would have been placed in the completely enclosed superstructure. The tower of the temple does contain such an empty space, without stairs or other access to it.[56] The superstructure of Candi Singasari has similar construction, with an inaccessible chamber above the cellas.[57] An important precedent for this type of "hidden image" may be seen in the uppermost *stūpa* of Borobudur,

which some scholars contend contained an unfinished image of a Buddha in the earth-touching gesture.[58]

Both Bosch and Nihom believed that the smaller "Joko Dolok" image from Malang originated from the region near Singasari.[59] G. P. Rouffaer in his monograph of the site includes a drawing of the statue that was made by J. Th. Bik in 1822.[60] Rouffaer identifies the image as a depiction of Kṛtanagara as Śiwa-Buddha, a contention that Bosch convincingly refutes. Indeed, Bosch argues that the drawing depicts the Malang Akṣobhya, which originally must have come from one of the subsidiary temples at Singasari, and that this site was the Sagala mentioned in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*.[61] In an abstruse argument that hinges on an alternative reading of the word "Sagala," Nihom proposes that the statue must have come from Bureng (Wendit) to the south of Singasari.

Clearly, more questions than answers are generated from the relevant passages of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*. How many statues were erected for Kṛtanagara? Why more than one? Were any of these the Joko Dolok? Why did temples have both Śaivite and Buddhist imagery? Underlying these questions is a larger issue concerning the nature of the connection between Hinduism and Buddhism at this time.

Religious Syncretism in East Java

Whether or not a separate stone image of Akṣobhya was contained in the superstructure of Candi Jawi, scholars have used the description of the temple with its Śaivite and Buddhist imagery as evidence of the syncretism of Hinduism and Buddhism in Kṛtanagara's court. Although this passage certainly suggests deep interconnections in the religious practices, literary and artistic evidence suggest that the two religions were not completely merged. To understand the religious practices of the court during the reign of Kṛtanagara, it is essential to reexamine the notion of syncretism in East Java.

Syncretism is generally defined as the combination of two or more distinct elements or beliefs. A second definition describes syncretism as a "fusion" of elements or beliefs. There are several problems inherent in looking for syncretism in the religions of ancient Indonesia. The first is the presumption that there is some form of original "pure" religion, presumably coming from India. This supposition can be questioned by looking at evidence from India, where is clear that religious beliefs were by no means static, but developed over time, were influenced by regional circumstances, and absorbed and exchanged ideas with local belief systems. This is true not only within the confines of the In-

dian subcontinent but also to wherever these religions spread, in Central Asia, East Asia, and Southeast Asia.

The idea of syncretism is even more problematic in the context of Buddhism, which arose as a heterodox belief system in a Hindu cultural context. Inevitably, it both drew upon and rejected aspects of Brahmanism. Indra and Brahmā are incorporated into depictions of the life of the Buddha, and other Hindu gods were affiliated with the Mahāyāna pantheon. Likewise, the Buddha was considered the tenth avatar of Viṣṇu.

Thus, if syncretism is to be defined as the combining of different religious beliefs, it could be argued that this inevitably occurs in the development of any religion over time. I will use the second definition of syncretism, the fusion of beliefs. This definition suggests that the two religions merged to such an extent that they lost their individuality and in essence formed a new type of religion.

In the introduction to their translation of the Old Javanese poem the *Kuñjarakarṇa Dharmakathana,* A. Teeuw and S. O. Robson argue that, in the fourteenth century, "Buddhism probably was no longer a separate religion in Java, but had become amalgamated into the syncretistic Śiwa-Buddha religion of Majapahit."[62] They are in a long line of scholars who argue that in the late Singasari and Majapahit dynasties, Buddhism and Hinduism were fused into a single religious system.

One of the first scholars to propose the idea of syncretism in the religions of Indonesia was the Dutch scholar H. Kern in an essay of 1888.[63] He referred to the religion of the region as a mix of Hindu and Buddhist beliefs. Implicit in his argument was the idea that even in India as Buddhism developed it underwent a kind of degeneration due to Śaivite influence. As evidence of this decline he cited the comments of seventh-century Orissan monks, who saw Śaivite heresy in Mahāyāna Buddhism.[64] In Kern's opinion the religion of the ancient Indonesians was just as hybrid.

The scholar Willem Stutterheim objected to the term "syncretism," saying that it was truer "in theory than reality."[65] Like Kern, he believed that Buddhism in Java was drastically different from the religion in its early days in India. Unlike Kern, he stressed the indigenous emphasis on magical rites and the adaptation of Indian religions to Indonesian societies:

> The designation "Buddhism" is very misleading for Java. It would be better to call it: Tantrism with a Buddhist base. But Tantrism is as much Śivaite as Buddhistic, and hence the differentiation has to be looked into very carefully. They are very similar in character and were already so on Indian soil.

> Whether the mantras got their power through Śiva or Buddha it was not so material. The main point was always the mantras themselves, in short the magic practices. Śivaite or Buddhistic are here no more than [a] difference of system[s] of magic.[66]

The next scholar to substantially address this issue was W. Rassers, in his article "Śiva and Buddha in the East Indian Archipelago." Unlike Stutterheim, Rassers argued against the notion that the mingling of Hinduism and Buddhism grew organically from Indian roots, and instead sought to prove the uniquely Javanese character of this fusion.[67] Rassers drew upon the Old Javanese story of Bubukṣa[68] to argue that Buddhism and Hinduism were considered two brothers, and that the adaptation of the two religions in Indonesia was a way of combining foreign ideas into an indigenous ancestral myth. In this myth, Buddhism and Hinduism were like two halves of an ancient indigenous tribe.[69]

In the 1960s a new group of scholars, many of them Indonesian, began to reexamine the question of religious syncretism by looking closely at epigraphic, literary, and archaeological evidence. They proposed new terminology to describe the interaction between religions in Java. Jan Gonda suggested the term "coalition"; Pigeaud favored "parallelism." Hariyati Soebadio posited that Hinduism and Buddhism were thought of as two paths to the same ultimate goal.[70] In his translation of the Majapahit-era Old Javanese text *Sutasoma,* Soewito Santoso argued strongly for the existence of an independent and well-developed Vajrayāna Buddhism in Java.[71] Max Nihom likewise has reexamined ancient inscriptions and posited that with the help of Tibetan texts, many elements of Vajrayāna beliefs can be found in Java in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[72]

Inscriptional and Textual Evidence of Syncretism

Most theories regarding Javanese religious syncretism are drawn from inscriptional and literary sources. Although many of these passages are initially striking in their invocation of both Hindu and Buddhist deities, as a whole I do not think they are definitive proof of the merging of religious beliefs. The Kelurak inscription of 782 CE from Central Java is a good example. Soewito Santoso's translation reads:

> This unequalled tower-temple, an unmatched Protector of the Dharma
> has an image of Mañjuśrī for the protection of all beings.
> Here in the interior, the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha are

present, manifesting themselves, and are visible in this jewel of the slayer of the enemy of Smara.
He, the glorious Wajra bearer, is the Lord praised as Mañjuwāg containing Brahmā, Wiṣṇu Maheśwara and all deities.[73]

In its description of the dedication of a temple, the inscription describes Mañjuśrī as being the same as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara. It then states that they are all one. While this might be interpreted as an example of the blending of religions, it can also be seen as an early evocation of the belief that all deities are an emanation of the same absolute reality.

The tenth-century Mahāyāna Buddhist treatise the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* contains a passage suggesting that Śiva, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu are emanations of Vairocana: "Those almighty deities originated from the omniscience of god Wairocana, they were Īśwara, Brahmā and Wiṣṇu. . . . [They] were almighty but not by virtue of their own selves, for they came into being only as a result of the omniscience of god Wairocana."[74]

Another text in which Vairocana plays a central role is the *Kuñjarakarṇa Dharmakathana*. The author of this text, Mpu Ḍusun, equates Vairocana with Buddha.[75] The story revolves around the search for liberation by a *yakṣa* named Kuñjarakarṇa and a *gandharwa* king, Pūrṇawijaya. The two visit Vairocana, who delivers the following lecture:

"Come, come my two sons, come here close by my feet and be seated!
There is an undifferentiated reality which is concealing itself from you — let me tell you about its nature.
So that is it, my sons, that is all that the denominations of the Buddhists, Śiwaites and Ṛṣis contend for;
They refuse to agree as each one considers their highest god to be superior.

"So it is with those who take vows of asceticism — they are inclined to contend among themselves,
And that is why the monks of this world are led astray and fail to find release.
They do not understand the oneness of good works: one, two and three turn into many.
Just as the pantheon of the Buddhist has five buddhas, the Ṛṣis have five *kuśikas* and the Śaiwa monks have their quintet.

"Now all of them are addressed as if they have a bodily existence, take note as follows:

Akṣobhya is an embodiment of the Great Kuśika, and Garga is clearly Ratnasambhawa;
Metrī is Amitābha, and the sage Kuruṣya is called Amoghasiddhi, of course,
And Patañjala am I and none else, I, the king of the Buddhist gods.

"As for the five Śaiwa deities, they are linking with the five Buddhist deities, none other than the highest:
Akṣobhya is an embodiment of Īśwara, even though it is told that their characteristics differ.
Brahmā is Ratnasambhawa, and Mahāmara is the divine Amitābha,
And Amoghasiddhi is none other than Madhusūdana by name, with four arms.

"Such is the specification of the word — you should know it truly.
I am Wairocana, the manifestation of both the Buddha and Śiwa, taken as teacher by the whole world.
That is why I am called Lord teacher, renowned throughout the world.
But it is I who pervade the whole world, the most superior of gods."[76]

Teeuw and Robson write that this text is "typically Javanese, syncretistic and belongs to the Tantric Śiwa-Buddha system of the Majapahit period." These two scholars do not believe the two religions were indistinguishable, but that separate clergy and rituals existed under one "comprehensive religious system."[77]

In the *Sutasoma,* Vairocana also preaches to the Hindu gods. The text contains a passage that states that the Buddha and Śiva are one. It goes on to say that they are of course different, but are also one. Both the *Kuñjarakarṇa Dharmakathana* and the *Sutasoma* include long passages describing Hindu and Buddhist methods of yoga, noting that it is valuable to know both methods, but that the Buddhist path is shorter. These didactic texts seem to indicate a belief that the Buddha and Śiva were emanations of the same absolute reality and that they were considered parallel paths toward enlightenment.

Several other East Javanese texts have been cited as evidence of religious syncretism. The fourteenth-century *Arjunawijaya* describes Arjuna's visit to a sanctuary where the priest equates the Jinas with four forms of Śiva. The author, Mpu Tantular, writes:

Aksobhya on the east, he is lord Rudra
Hyang Ratnasamvawa on the south, he is Dhatr

On the west is Amitabha, (he is) Maha
Amoghasiddhi on the north, (he is) God Hari

Thus O King, there is no difference between deities
It is said that hyang Buddha and hyang Śiva are the king of the deities
The two are the same, it is they who are the object of every (worship in) sacred edifices which already exist.[78]

The text goes on to warn that the king should protect both Buddhist and Śaivite holy places, which were kept separate.

Inscriptions from Airlangga's reign through the Majapahit describe three or four religious divisions: Śaivite, Buddhist, *ṛṣi* (sage; ascetic), and sometimes Vaiṣṇavite.[79] In the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,* the poet Prapañca describes the religious background of Majapahit Java in detail. The same division into three officially recognized groups is repeated, with each group having an official court superintendent *(adhyakṣa).*[80] The poem indicates that the divisions between these groups were quite distinct. They were housed in different areas, had different restrictions on proselytizing, and performed different rituals.[81] The division and specialization of the different sects is emphasized in canto 81, stanza 2:

This is the reason why the four categories of clergy each strive to achieve excellence,
The Wipra, Ṛṣi, Śaiwa and Buddhist are diligent in their own kind of learning and attentive;
All the Caturāśrama, principally the numerous members of the "Four Ash-marks,"
Are submissive to their rules of life and expert at their own rites.[82]

Many other belief systems are also described: Bhairava worshippers, ancestor cults, and various ascetic groups. The picture of religious life in fourteenth-century Java painted by the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* is one that includes a rich variety of faiths, but also one in which there were clear distinctions (at least on the royal level) between religious practices and beliefs. The fourteenth-century book of royal regulations, the *Rājapatiguṇḍala,* states that the "Shiwaite's son shall be a Shiwaite, the Buddhist's son shall be a Buddhist . . . and all classes shall follow their own avocations (and ceremonies)."[83] In some ways the court structure can be compared to that of some countries in mainland Southeast Asia (e.g., Thailand) that, although officially Buddhist, still maintain Brahmanistic court rituals. The Majapahit court, as described

in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,* was predominantly Hindu, but with definite roles established for the Buddhist clergy. Literary evidence indicates that worshippers drew upon both Hindu and Buddhist beliefs, but that the two religions remained distinguishable.

Artistic Evidence of Syncretism

It is more difficult to assess the evidence of religious syncretism in the artistic traditions of ancient Javanese art. Proponents of the theory have pointed to the construction of adjacent Hindu and Buddhist structures as an early signal of the growing connections between the two religions. But the coexistence of these monuments can also be interpreted as a sign of religious tolerance.

For the most part Javanese temples do not seem to bear many traces of combined Śaivite and Buddhist iconographic traits, although it is difficult to designate religious categories to all architectural ornaments. For instance, the similarity between *stūpas* and *liṅgas* is discussed by J. E. van Lohuizen.[84] It is likely that the same guilds of artists and architects worked on both Hindu and Buddhist monuments, and drew from a common pool of motifs. Candi Jawi has been put forward as an example of a temple with a mixture of Hindu and Buddhist architectural elements. The square base is similar to that of many Hindu temples, but it is crowned with a Buddhist *stūpa* (fig. 2.6).

A second temple with a unique superstructure is Candi Jabung in East Java near Pasuruhan (fig. 2.7). The brick temple dates from the fourteenth century and is mentioned in the *Pararaton* by the name of Bajrajinaparamitapura.[85] In the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,* King Rājasanagara visits a monument at Kalayu to pay respects to his ancestors; this might also refer to the same temple.[86] The base of the temple is very high and shaped as a square with projections in the cardinal directions. A tall cylindrical body rises to a height of over fifteen meters. The top of the structure is in ruins, but it may have once been crowned with a *stūpa* (a reasonable assumption from the round plan below).[87] Although many Central Javanese Buddhist structures have *stūpa* finials, the *stūpas* themselves are solid structures, not designed to be entered.[88] At Candi Jabung we see a combination of *stūpa* and sacred chamber.

In East Java several temples are carved with panels of both Hindu and Buddhist narrative reliefs. The Buddhist tale of the brothers Bubukṣa and Gagangaking was depicted at the Hindu temples of Panataran and Surowono. Recent analysis of the reliefs at Surowono by Peter Worsley suggests that the religious nature of these stories may have been secondary to mutual themes of kingship existing in all the narratives and that modes of narrative ordering



FIGURE 2.6. Candi Jawi, early fourteenth century, Candi Wates, Prigen, Pasuruan, East Java



FIGURE 2.7. Candi Jabung, 1354, Jabung, Probolinggo, East Java

other than chronological were used.[89] Worsley suggests that there were two versions of the tale of Bubukṣa and Gagangaking and that the one depicted at Candi Surowono emphasizes the Śaivite brother's supremacy rather than the Buddhist brother's.[90] Analyzing the same temple reliefs, Marijke Klokke suggests that indigenous modes of orientation supplanted earlier Hindu-Buddhist ideas, influencing the position of temples and direction of narrative reliefs.[91]

The combination of architectural elements as seen in Candi Jawi and Candi Jabung does illustrate the experimentation with temple construction taking place in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It does not consequently indicate any fusion of religious beliefs. Likewise, the depictions of both Hindu and Buddhist narratives on the walls of temples do not necessarily indicate syncretism. (One would not argue that there is Śaivite/Vaiṣṇavite syncretism because of the Rāmayāna reliefs on the Śiva temple at Prambanan.)

The worship of Śiwa-Buddha and the erection of a Śiwa-Buddha statue as mentioned in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* are more problematic. Many statues from the late East Javanese period have unusual iconography, but to my knowledge only one has been found that may have both Buddhist and Hindu attributes (fig. 2.8).[92] Marijke Klokke hypothesizes that during this period the individual identities of the gods were "not of great importance, for they all are manifestations of the one highest god who embodies the ultimate truth."[93] As stated before, both Buddhist and Hindu statues were sometimes erected to commemorate the same ruler. One of the more thought-provoking theories is that these images related primarily to ancestor worship and that posthumous erection of both types of deities would allow both Hindus and Buddhists to memorialize the ruler and worship their respective gods.

Portraits of Royal Asceticism

Despite the popularity of theories regarding religious syncretism discussed above, it is striking how the major pieces of late Buddhist sculpture found in Indonesia are easily identifiable and often follow closely the iconography of examples from South Asia, especially Bangladesh. The Joko Dolok statue is an interesting exception. The unconventionality of the image is caused not by syncretism, but by the combination of an unidealized human form with the costume of a monk and the gesture associated with a cosmic Buddha. With these unique features the image suggests a combination of royal portraiture, royal asceticism, and royal apotheosis.

The Joko Dolok and its Malang replica have been compared to the portrait statues of the Khmer king Jayavarman VII.[94] Of the six sculptures that are



FIGURE 2.8. Standing figure, ca. thirteenth–fourteenth century, Mt. Penanggungan, East Java

believed to be portraits of Jayavarman VII, three are seated figures and the other three are detached heads.[95] At first glance, one is struck by the austerity of both the Joko Dolok and Jayavarman statues. The Cambodian statue sits with crossed legs, his head slightly bent (fig. 2.9). The figure lacks any ornamentation, has long earlobes, and sports a simple hairstyle.

The similarities between the Javanese and Khmer statues are in fact superficial, and closer inspection reveals many differences. The Jayavarman image is much more finely carved. Although the torso of the figure is thickset, the musculature of his chest and stomach is articulated, unlike that of the Joko Dolok. He sits in half-lotus position, and wears a finely pleated sarong that is folded at the waist and reaches the top of the knees. It is difficult to compare the faces of the statues, since the Javanese image has been so badly damaged. But it is evident from this and other depictions of the Khmer ruler that Jayavarman's thinly striated hair is drawn back into a simple chignon (fig. 2.10), while Joko Dolok wears his hair shorn like that of a monk. Finally, the



FIGURE 2.9. Seated male (Jayavarman VII), late twelfth–early thirteenth century, Khmer, found at Prang Bhramathat, Prasat Phimai, Nakhon Ratchasima province, Thailand, h 42 cm, Phimai National Museum

mudrās of the images must have been different. While Joko Dolok displays the *bhūmisparśa mudrā,* the hands of the Jayavarman statue (which are missing) are likely to have been held in front on his chest, either holding a lotus or with palms pressed together in adoration.[96]

Both images may be called portrayals of royal asceticism, but they represent different aspects of such practices. The Jayavarman statue appears to represent the king in a posture of veneration and with a countenance also implying deep inner absorption. The image demonstrates the piety of the king, and perhaps also his compassion. The Joko Dolok image, in contrast, represents a man in the garb of a monk, in the *mudrā* of Akṣobhya. If this is indeed a representation of the king, it might also be seen as a portrait of the king's own apotheosis, his unification with Akṣobhya, during his lifetime.

While the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* describes royal figures who were posthumously united with a deity, the Joko Dolok statue is the only example of what seems to be a representation of a human figure in the pose of a deity. If the image

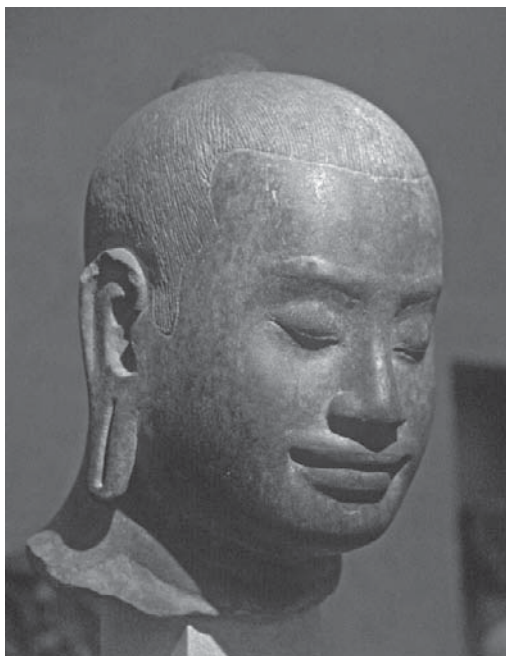


FIGURE 2.10. Head of a male (Jayavarman VII), late twelfth–early thirteenth century, Cambodia, exact provenance unknown, National Museum, Bangkok, inv. no. P 430



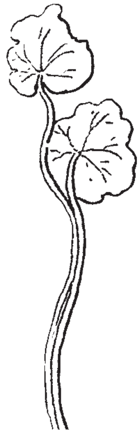
FIGURE 2.11. Reco Lanang, thirteenth–fourteenth century, Trawas, East Java, h approx. 5.70 m

represents Kṛtanagara, it would mark a quite radical change in the conception of kingship in Java. It is significant that it is Akṣobhya with whom Kṛtanagara identified, as there is further evidence of the importance of this Buddha in East Java during this period.

A monumental, yet little studied, statue of Akṣobhya was found along the slopes of Mount Welirang near Trawas, East Java (fig. 2.11). Known locally as Reco Lanang, this statue is 5.7 meters high, making it the tallest statue ever found in Indonesia. In close proximity to the image are several other huge sculptures carved from andesite boulders. All of these statues are in an unfinished state. While the incomplete nature of the Reco Lanang statue at Trawas may have merely been the result of the artists' diminished time or resources, the statue calls to mind the unfinished Buddha from Borobudur, an image that may have been originally enclosed in the central *stūpa* of the monument.[97]

The arguments concerning the authenticity of the unfinished Buddha from Borobudur are best summarized by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw.[98] The identity of this Buddha remains in question. The image has been variously interpreted as Śākyamuni, Vairocana, Vajrasattva, and Vajradhara. In certain sects of Buddhism these latter two deities are considered esoteric forms of Akṣobhya.[99] Other scholars suggest the image was a rejected sculpture that was placed in the central *stūpa* as "filling material."[100] Soekmono's recent analysis of a Middle Javanese manuscript, the *Serat Centhini,* convincingly argues that the image was originally placed in the central *stūpa*.

During the East Javanese period few images of the historical Buddha and his life were produced. The artistic emphasis shifted to depictions of cosmic buddhas, especially Akṣobhya. The chapters to follow will demonstrate how the Akṣobhya Buddha and his emanations gained a special significance in the late Buddhism of Java and Sumatra. They will also show how much of the other late Buddhist statuary from East Java and Sumatra was intricately connected not only to religious rituals, but also to ideas about kingship and statecraft.



CHAPTER THREE

Ideas of Portraiture

Prajñāpāramitā in Java and Sumatra

THE STATUE OF Prajñāpāramitā, the Buddhist deity of transcendental wisdom, in the Museum Nasional Indonesia (fig. 3.1), has been called "arguably Java's greatest single stone sculpture."[1] The image is indeed treasured and has been replicated many times, possibly first in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century in the years immediately after its manufacture, and even today recent replicas are available from online vendors in northern California.

One of the central questions regarding the Prajñāpāramitā statue is whether this Buddhist sculpture also represented a historical figure, and if so, who she was. The issue of whether "portrait statues" existed in ancient Indonesia has long been contested; the Prajñāpāramitā is one statue with strong but problematic evidence associating it with at least one historical personage. This chapter will address the issue of early Indonesian portraiture and explore literary sources regarding how statues like this one may have been used in death rituals during the Singasari–Majapahit era. The discovery of several images of Prajñāpāramitā during the East Javanese period indicates the importance of the goddess at that time. Today, the statue continues to be used to reinforce notions of ancient history and contemporary statehood in Indonesia.

The Image

The Prajñāpāramitā statue has long impressed viewers with both its remarkable workmanship and its enigmatic expression. In 1911, E. B. Havell described the image as "deserving to be considered as one of the highest spiritual creations of all art: [She is] sitting on the lotus throne, the symbol of purity and divine birth. In the pose of the yogini — her face has the ineffable expression of heav-



FIGURE 3.1.
Prajñāpāramitā (same as figure i.2), ca. 1300, from Candi Singasari, East Java, h 1.26 m, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv no. 1403/ XI 1587

enly grace, like the Madonnas of Giovanni Bellini — Prajñāpāramitā, as the consort of the Adibuddha, would be seen as the mother of the universe."[2]

Robert Fisher also compares the image to a Madonna, writing, "The Prajñāpāramitā is especially effective in its portrayal of the feminine ideal, for it surpasses the idealism of the world of countless Venus, goddess, and Madonna images, to project an aura of assurance and power usually reserved for men."[3] The sculpture is indeed powerful, though in my opinion it evokes neither the maternal nor feminine ideal. The warmth of the statue comes from the pale rose-tint of the andesite rather than from any facial expression.[4] And unlike a Madonna, looking lovingly at her child, this image stares serenely and completely impassively downward.

As with many statues from East Java, the exact provenance of the Prajñā-

pāramitā is uncertain. The Dutch removed many statues from temples in the early 1800s and, regrettably, often left no accurate records of the sites where objects were found. In 1803, Nicolaus Engelhard, the governor of Java's north-east coast, visited the Singasari area and removed six images.[5] Four of these came from the main temple and the other two presumably from a nearby site.[6] Engelhard left only one image in situ at the main temple, an image of Agastya that was badly damaged. It has been suggested that perhaps Engelhard himself caused the damage to the image as he tried to remove it with the other statues.[7]

Engelhard asserted that he took the images because the Javanese no longer worshipped them and they needed to be protected. Sadly, the removal of images from temples did not necessarily keep them from harm; at least three boats laden with antiquities from the Malang area sank on route to the Netherlands. And one early visitor to the site reported that the "natives" intentionally beheaded images in an effort to prevent their removal to the capital.[8] In his monograph on Singasari, J. L. A. Brandes proposes that a Dutch official, D. Monnereau, removed the Prajñāpāramitā statue from one of the subsidiary temples near the main temple of Singasari around 1818 and then gave it to C. G. C. Reinwardt, who then shipped it to Holland in 1822.[9] Our knowledge of the images at Singasari is hampered not only by the loss of statuary, but also by the disappearance of temples themselves. Early reports describe at least six structures near Singasari;[10] today only the main temple remains.

It is presumed that the Prajñāpāramitā image came from a small temple about five hundred meters to the southwest of the main temple. This structure, which is no longer extant, has been referred to by various names in previous literature. Jessy Blom refers to it as Candi E, but it was also called Candi Wayang and Cungkup Putri.[11] It apparently had a square base with a circular superstructure and was constructed from a soft white stone. The beautiful bas-reliefs that decorated the base gave rise to the name Candi Wayang, referring to the reliefs depicting figures in the style of *wayang*-puppet figures. The second name, Cungkup Putri (dome of the princess), may have referred to the image of the Prajñāpāramitā found within the temple.

The statue itself is exquisitely carved and remarkably well preserved. From the base to the tip of the stele it measures 1.26 meters. The first full third of this height is taken up by a square, recessed base upon which rests a double lotus cushion. Prajñāpāramitā sits upon this lotus in *padmāsana* against a back slab that rises to the level of her chest and then is bisected by a crossbar. After a gentle dip the stele rises again in a pointed arch. It is decorated with a curling wavelike pattern on the outer edge, a thin band of rectangular forms

and two thicker plain bands. At the level of the goddess's shoulders the wave motif flares inward, twisting and curling in a vegetative manner.

Around Prajñāpāramitā's head is a long raised oval halo. The simplicity of this flat sheet of smooth stone contrasts strikingly with the ornately carved headdress of the goddess. This headdress consists of a diadem with five points that is secured around her temples by floral bands that fall down each shoulder, trailed by strings of pearls. Tiny loops and threads of beads fall over the goddess's forehead. Her hair is gathered up in a tall *jaṭāmukuṭa* (crown of matted tresses) that is adorned with jewels. Below the three folds of the statue's neck are two necklaces: the first, a strand of beads; the second, an ornate triangular pendant that falls between her breasts.

Prajñāpāramitā's face is encircled by a series of frames. The decorated outer stele forms the first, then the plain oval aureole. Finally, her elaborate jewelry becomes a third type of frame. Remarkably, the wealth of ornament does not draw away from the sculpture's face, but instead emphasizes its simplicity. Prajñāpāramitā looks downward, her face immobile in a suggestion of sublime detachment. The goddess seems so withdrawn within herself that she is oblivious of the ornate trappings that adorn her body. Her lowered glance draws attention to her hands held in the *dharmacakra mudrā.* Her pose is almost completely symmetrical, except for her hands, which, in their own way, echo this symmetry by forming a circle at her center. She wears rings on her index finger and thumb, three bracelets, an armlet above the elbow, and an elaborate band around her upper arm.

The rest of Prajñāpāramitā's body is equally well adorned. The sculptor was extraordinarily adept at carving the twisting sashes and strands of jewels as they trace the contours of her body. A long caste-cord of three strings of pearls falls over her right shoulder, then curves, coiling outward around the swell of her breast. It ducks under her arm, emerges to form a loop over her crossed legs, then rises up again to a large clasp at her left breast. A diagonal sash with a row of intricately carved rosettes seems to appear from nowhere beneath her hands. But on closer inspection one can see the edge of the cloth peeking out from under her necklace above her left breast, then folded over her left shoulder.

A complex floral pattern composed of contiguous circles is delicately etched on Prajñāpāramitā's sarong. The pattern is similar to the *jlamprang* motif of adjacent circles placed in rows, commonly seen on batiks in Java today.[12] The excess material is gathered in bows at her hips then draped down over the lotus pedestal. The ties and tassels of her belt also cascade over her crossed legs

onto the cushion. Behind her left knee a lotus plant grows. A bud begins to open by her elbow, while the stem twists around her arm and a full blossom blooms next to her shoulder. Atop this lotus rests a book, the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra,* which gives the goddess her name.

The *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras*

The *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras,* or *Perfection of Wisdom* corpus, are a collection of texts, the earliest of which probably dates from the first century BCE. This makes some of the *sūtras* among the earliest Mahāyāna texts in existence. The early *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* were elaborated upon with new texts that were produced until about 1000 CE. As a whole, the works focus on the spiritual path of the bodhisattva. Edward Conze writes, "The chief message of the Prajñāpāramitā books is that perfect wisdom can be attained only by the complete and total extinction of all self-interest, and only in an emptiness in which everything that we see around us has disappeared like an insignificant dream."[13]

Evidence of the importance of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* in Indonesia during the late Singasari dynasty can be inferred from the following passage in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* that describes King Kṛtanagara: "But as he grew somewhat older he held to all sorts of esoteric rites; / Mainly of course it was the Subhūti Tantra the essence of which he guarded and cherished in his heart."[14] Subhūti is a disciple of the Buddha who is featured in the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts and also mentioned in the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*.

As Mahāyāna sects developed, increasing attention and devotion was paid to the *sūtras* themselves, which were seen as tools toward salvation.

> Some of the texts, like the *Lotus Sūtra* . . . in addition to proclaiming their own unique potency as the means to salvation, would also praise the veneration of stūpas, the reliquaries in which the remains of the Buddha were enshrined. Other texts, like much of the perfection of wisdom (prajñāpāramitā) corpus, would proclaim their superiority to stūpas, declaring themselves to be substitutes for the body and speech of the absent Buddha, equally worthy of veneration and equally efficacious.[15]

A further development in the worship of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* was its personification (or deification) in the form of a feminine goddess. The Prajñāpāramitā, or goddess of transcendental wisdom, was indeed the word made flesh, and mirrors the feminine personification of wisdom in the Middle East and Mediterranean.[16]

Diana Paul writes that certain deities such as Prajñāpāramitā

> entered the Buddhist pantheon as females because of the grammatical accident that they are feminine abstract nouns in the Sanskrit language. Sanskrit nouns are predominantly feminine in nature. However, one could argue that the selection of nouns to express philosophic concepts could have intentionally been chosen in the masculine gender if attributing feminine qualities to a deity were extremely repugnant.[17]

Viṣṇu's mace, *gadā,* is another feminine noun that is also personified as a female goddess, Gadādevi.

Indeed, sections of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* seem to embrace the feminine concept of perfect wisdom. A selection from the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* reads:

> Perfect Wisdom spreads her radiance . . . and is worthy of worship. Spotless, the whole world cannot stain her. . . . In her we find refuge; her works are most excellent, she brings us safely under the sheltering wings of enlightenment. She brings light to the blind, that all fears and calamities may be dispelled . . . and she scatters the gloom and darkness of delusion. She leads those who have gone astray to the right path. She is omniscience; without beginning or end is Perfect Wisdom, who has Emptiness as her characteristic mark; she is the mother of the bodhisattvas. . . . She cannot be struck down, the protector of the unprotected, . . . the Perfect Wisdom of the Buddhas, she turns the Wheel of the Law.[18]

Although this passage provides little physical description, the chosen terms are curiously apt when one looks at the Singasari Prajñāpāramitā — radiant, spotless, with emptiness as her characteristic mark, turning the wheel of the law.

Precedents for the Prajñāpāramitā Statue

Many statues of Prajñāpāramitā have been found in India; the deity was particularly popular in later Buddhism. The first carved images of the deity appear many centuries after the *sūtras* were composed. The *Sādhanamāla* contains nine *sādhanas* that give descriptions of the goddess.[19] Two of these contain some details that fit the Singasari sculpture (nos. 153, 158), and enough of the major characteristics are similar to identify the image.

Benoytosh Bhattacharyya describes one form of the goddess, Pitaprajñāpāramitā, as being two-armed, one-faced and sitting in *vajraparyaṅka* on a

white lotus. Yellow in complexion, the goddess has an image of Akṣobhya on her *jaṭāmukuṭa;* she wears celestial ornaments, and both of her hands display the *vyākhyāna mudrā.* The sacred text, the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra,* lies on a lotus to her left. According to Bhattacharyya, "The celebrated image of Prajñāpāramitā of Java belongs to this variety, and tallies in all details with the description given in the Dhyāna."[20] Obviously, Bhattacharyya has not looked closely at the Prajñāpāramitā statue, which bears no image of Akṣobhya in her headdress and displays the *dharmacakra mudrā.*

An early depiction of the deity is an eighth-century Sri Lankan bronze showing the goddess seated in the half-lotus position with her hands in *dharmacakra mudrā* and a lotus growing along her left side.[21] This image from the Victoria and Albert Museum is particularly interesting because it was found in Thailand, thus demonstrating the early exportation of such bronzes to Southeast Asia. Vidya Dehejia suggests that perhaps it was sent from Sri Lanka with one of the many missions of monks traveling abroad to reinvigorate the faith in Burma.[22]

Most Pāla sculptures of the Prajñāpāramitā show a different iconography, in which a lotus bearing a book grows on both sides of the goddess. An early-ninth-century example, possibly from Bodh Gayā, shows the goddess seated in her characteristic pose and *mudrā* (fig. 3.2).[23] Other details of the image are quite different from the Singasari sculpture. The goddess is seated on a throne, with lions carved at each corner and a small pair of devotees in the middle. Small female attendants stand to her left and right. Her jewelry and clothing are likewise quite different from the Javanese image.

Images of Prajñāpāramitā have also been found in mainland Southeast Asia. A small votive tablet from the late ninth or early tenth century discovered in the Yala province of Thailand shows the goddess with the same attributes as the Pāla image discussed above.[24] In Cambodia the goddess was very popular in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but was routinely portrayed in quite a different manner. She was often found in a triad with the Mucalinda Buddha and Avalokiteśvara.[25] In this triad she is depicted standing with an *utpala* (blue lotus) in one hand and a book in the other. An interesting exception is an image of the goddess that has been associated with Jayavarman VII's queen, Jayarājadevī (fig. 3.3). This statue shows the kneeling deity with her hair drawn tightly back and an image of Akṣobhya in her headdress.[26] Her thick lips and a strong brow line are typical of Bayon-period statues. The Khmer examples are stylistically very different from the Jakarta Prajñāpāramitā.[27]

Bronze sculptors in East Java produced several images of the goddess in the



FIGURE 3.2. Prajñāpāramitā, ca. 825–875, India; perhaps Bodh Gayā, Bihār state, h 66 cm, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco

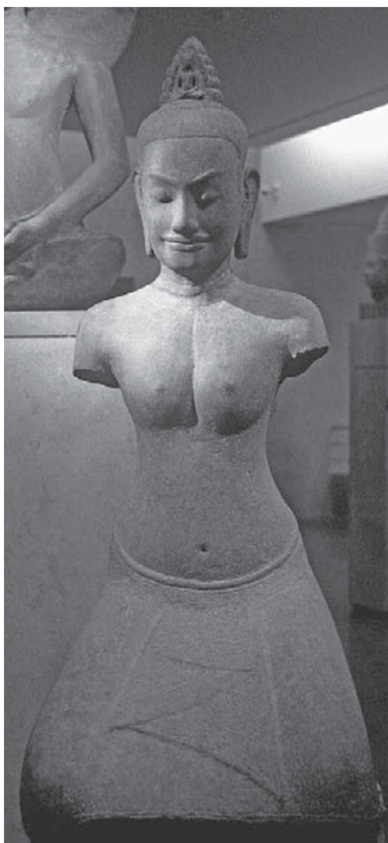


FIGURE 3.3. Kneeling female (Prajñāpāramitā or Tārā), late twelfth–early thirteenth century, Siemreap province, Preah Khan (Angkor), Cambodia, h 1.30 m, Musée Guimet, inv. no. MG 18043



FIGURE 3.4. Prajñāpāramitā, first half of the tenth century, Central Java, bronze, h 12.9 cm, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden

tenth century. Often she is paired with a statue of Vairocana.[28] These bronzes have more stylistic similarities with the Singasari sculpture than with images from India or mainland Southeast Asia. Looking at a tenth-century bronze currently at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, one immediately sees connections with the later stone sculpture (fig. 3.4).[29] In this image only one lotus appears, twisting around the figure's left arm. In addition to the jewelry, clothing, and headdress, other small details are also similar, such as the rounded cushion below the lotus and the bows of cloth at the goddess's hips.

Replicas of the Singasari Prajñāpāramitā?

Several large stone statues of Prajñāpāramitā that appear to be nearly contemporaneous with the Singasari sculpture have been found in Java and Sumatra. Unfortunately, all of them are badly damaged.[30] Some scholars have proposed that these statues were replicas of the Singasari sculpture, although none are stylistically identical. All the other Prajñāpāramitās are larger than the Singasari image, and none are as finely carved. A close examination of the statues shows close stylistic similarities as well as significant differences. A



FIGURE 3.5. Headless Prajñāpāramitā, ca. 1300, grounds of Candi Singasari complex, East Java, in situ, h 1.37 m

stylistic comparison also points to the inherent difficulties in trying to date these images. Early Dutch scholars proposed several rules with which to distinguish sculpture from the Singasari and Majapahit dynasties. For instance, the presence of a lotus growing from its "roots" was thought to indicate the Singasari dynasty, while a lotus emerging from a pot was thought to indicate a Majapahit-era statue. In the case of these statues these rules prove problematic; iconographical evidence points to one period whereas literary evidence points to another.

One of the sculptures, which appears to represent the goddess, was excavated from the town square *(alun-alun)* of Singasari and today stands in the courtyard of the main temple (fig. 3.5). It is carved from a different type of stone than the other sculptures at the site (but not the same pink-tinged andesite as the Prajñāpāramitā now in Jakarta). It is also a larger image, measuring 1.37 meters in its broken state. The head and the upper part of the back

slab are missing, and the base of the statue appears unfinished. The hands have been damaged, although it is possible to see that they once were in *dharma-cakra mudrā*.

Certain aspects of the sculpture are quite similar to the Museum Nasional's Singasari statue, especially the jewelry.[31] Yet the throne of the statue differs markedly. A crossbar divides the stele at the level of the goddess's shoulders. On the outer edge below the divider is carved a *vyālaka* (horned lion), standing on his hind legs atop a small elephant. Above the crossbar there is more carving, but it is harder to distinguish. The head of a *makara* (crocodile-like creature) faces outward, while a plain, raised halo surrounds the goddess's face. Curiously, there is no lotus plant bearing the *sūtra* on this statue. The only signs of a lotus are a thick tube that twists around the statue's left arm above the elbow and a trace of something similar along the upper left arm that likely also represents the stem of the plant.

Although the statue was found headless, Jessy Blom hypothesized that a head excavated separately in 1927 may have belonged to the image (fig. 3.6).[32] Decades later her theory was tested when Jan Fontein returned to the site, found the head underneath some bushes, and compared it with the statue. Both parts were made of the same hard, light greenish stone, and matched perfectly.[33] The head is badly damaged, but it shows the same delicately sculpted hairline and downcast eyes as the Jakarta sculpture. The crown is composed of a thick pearl tiara that holds up the mass of intricately coiled tresses of the goddess's *jaṭāmukuṭa*. Unfortunately, too little of the face remains to compare it closely with the Jakarta Prajñāpāramitā.

Another headless statue was found a hundred kilometers to the southwest of Singasari at Candi Boyolangu (also known as Candi Gayatri) in Tulung-agung. This temple has been identified as the site of Bhayalangö described in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*. Today the image sits beneath a wood and bamboo roof in the center of the temple ruins (fig. 3.7). According to R. Soekmono, no remains of a stone temple foundation were excavated at the site, but large stone blocks were uncovered. These blocks could hold poles, and suggest that a thatched roof covered the platform. Evidence suggests that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries several important statues were kept in this type of structure, rather than enclosed within a conventional temple. Large Gaṇeśa statues from Karangkates, Boro (Bara), and Mount Semeru, as well as the Amoghapāśa and towering bhairava from West Sumatra (see chapters 4 and 6), all may have been housed in open-air structures.[34]

The Boyolangu Prajñāpāramitā sits in *padmāsana* on a huge double-lotus base (fig. 3.8). The image is in poor condition, missing her head, hands, part



FIGURE 3.6. Prajñāpāramitā, head of figure 3.5, h approx. 30 cm, from Blom, *Antiquities of Singasari,* pl. 3D



FIGURE 3.7. Candi Boyolangu (Gayatri), ca. mid-fourteenth–early fifteenth century, Boyolangu, East Java



FIGURE 3.8. Prajñāpāramitā, mid-fourteenth century, h 1.05 m, from Candi Boyolangu, East Java

of an arm, and almost all of the back slab. The image is 1.05 meters high and quite different from the Prajñāpāramitās found at Singasari, although the ornaments are similar: three bracelets, a five-strand pearl caste-cord, and a belt that gathers her sarong in large bunches at her hips. Thick tresses of curling hair fall from her head down the side of her upper arms. But other aspects of her appearance are different. A jeweled belt crosses under her breasts, which seem to be covered by some kind of cloth. Her sarong is not patterned, and her jewelry is much less ornate and intricate than that of the Singasari Prajñāpāramitā.

At her sides two lotus plants grow directly from what look like short, wavy

roots. On either side, one stem of the lotus detaches from the others to coil itself around the statue's arms. Without the top of the back slab, it is not possible to tell whether the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* rested on lotuses on both sides of the goddess, as is seen in some Pāla sculpture. Lotuses growing from "roots" are often described as a characteristic of sculpture from the late Singasari period, especially the images from Candi Jago. In fact, it is difficult to determine what exactly is depicted at the bottom of these lotus plants. Lotuses grow from rhizomes, underwater oblong stems that grow perpendicular to the stalks of the plant. The roots of the lotus grow from the nodes between the rhizomes. The remarkable carving of the leaves and flowers of lotus plants during this period leaves no doubt that artists were well aware of the botanical intricacies of the plant. Thus the "roots" observed in these sculptures must be something else, perhaps water. In any event, the use of the lotus motif for dating images was propounded by Stutterheim in the 1930s and is still seen in scholarship today.[35] In later Majapahit-era sculpture, the lotuses often grow out of small pots. The lotus next to the Jakarta Prajñāpāramitā grows from neither "roots" nor a pot, but emerges from a swirling mass of tendrils.

Based on iconography alone, the Boyolangu Prajñāpāramitā should be dated to the Singasari dynasty. But the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* describes the erection of a sanctuary for a queen associated with Prajñāpārimitā at Bhayalangö in the mid-fourteenth century, well into the Majapahit dynasty. The possibility that the statue found at Boyolangu is not connected to the royal figure in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* seems unlikely. Thus, the use of lotus-root iconography is not a foolproof method of dating statuary.

A fourth Prajñāpāramitā was found along the banks of the Batang Hari River in Muara Jambi, over a thousand kilometers from East Java at a site several kilometers downstream from the city of Jambi in Sumatra. This image is closest to the Jakarta Prajñāpāramitā in the fineness of the carving and abundance of ornament.

The site where this image was found, Muara Jambi, is one of the many archaeological sites in Sumatra that is direly in need of further conservation and excavation. Over an area of twelve square kilometers lie at least thirty-three brick structures, eight temples with surrounding walls, one other temple, many *stūpa,* and other unidentified smaller constructions (known locally as *manapo*).[36] The Buddhist nature of the site is attested to by the Prajñāpāramitā statue, the *stūpa,* and several iron *vajras* found at the site.

The first European to describe Muara Jambi was the British surveyor Captain S. C. Crooke, who briefly visited the region in 1820. He noted cursorily that "nothing was discovered but a mutilated diminutive figure of an elephant,



FIGURE 3.9. Candi Gumpung, Muara Jambi, Sumatra, ca. thirteenth century

and a full sized head in stone, having curly hair, in the style of a judge's wig, and a perfectly Caffre cast of features."[37] The European researchers who followed included T. Adam in 1920 and F. M. Schnitger in the 1930s.[38] The Indonesian Center for Archaeological Research (Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional) conducted research, surveys, and excavation throughout the 1980s.[39] The majority of the temples remain in ruins today, though many important artifacts have been removed to an informative site museum.

An eighty-centimeter-high Prajñāpāramitā statue was uncovered in 1978 at Candi Gumpung at this site in Muara Jambi (fig. 3.9). This temple yielded several other important finds, including four iron *vajras,* twelve inscribed bricks, and a ritual deposit consisting of a bronze cup and several inscribed gold leaves.[40] Twenty of the twenty-two readable leaves were inscribed with names of deities from the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*.[41]

As at Candi Boyolangu, initial excavation of Candi Gumpung revealed a solid eighteen-square-meter structure with no inner chamber. The ritual deposits were found underneath this base. R. Soekmono hypothesizes that Candi Gumpung and many of the other *candis* at Muara Jambi were not conventional temples but terraced pavilions.[42] The Prajñāpāramitā statue would have been placed under a wooden or bamboo roof on top of the highest terrace.



FIGURE 3.10.
Prajñāpāramitā, thirteenth century, from Candi Gumpung, Muara Jambi, Sumatra, h 80 cm, Site Museum Muara Jambi

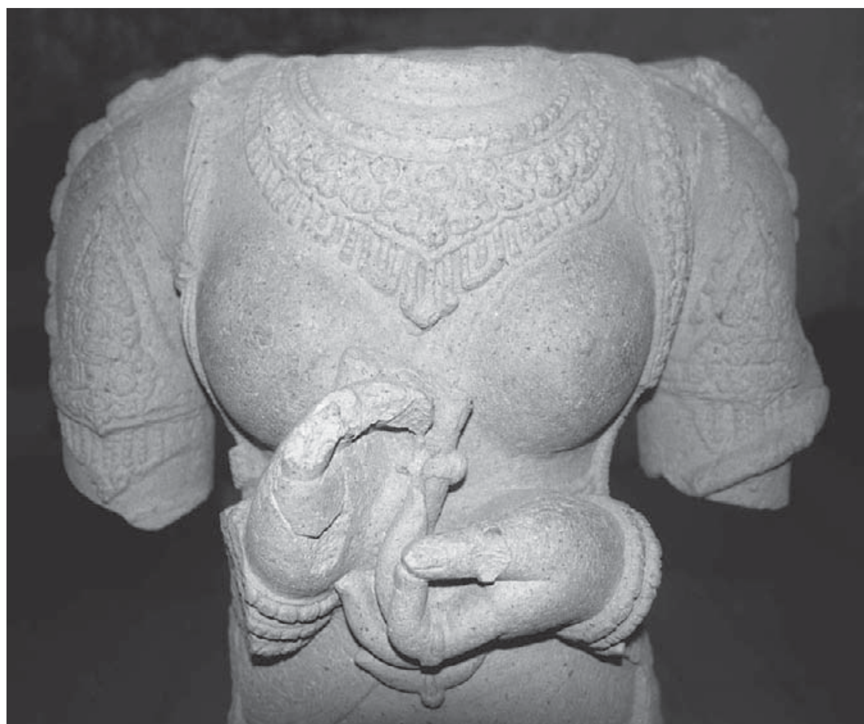


FIGURE 3.11.
Prajñāpāramitā, chest of 3.10

The exquisitely carved statue is damaged, although once again enough remains to identify the image (fig. 3.10). She is missing her head and forearms, but her hands remain in front of her chest in *dharmacakra mudrā* (fig. 3.11).[43] As with the other images, the goddess is in *padmāsana,* but unlike them she sits neither on a lotus cushion nor against a back slab.[44] She wears a long sarong that is delicately carved with a *ceplok* pattern of stylized geometric shapes. The fabric folds beneath her crossed legs into a pyramid of delicate pleats. Her two long sashes are gathered in large bows at her hips. The thick stem of a lotus plant can be seen winding around her upper left arm, and a trace of another stem climbing up the right side of her body.

The jewelry of the Sumatran sculpture is remarkably similar to that of the Jakarta image, with the same number and same types of necklaces, armlets, bracelets, and the like. But the ornamentation is by no means identical; the carving of the Jambi Prajñāpāramitā is a little rougher, slightly less refined. Further, the statue sits between two lotus plants. One unique feature of the image is the tresses of hair that curl down the back of the image (fig. 3.12). The goddess's sarong and sashes are likewise depicted on the rear of the statue, gathered up in a knot behind her waist, with a small lotus plant growing along her lower left hip (fig. 3.13). The carving on the back of the sculpture supports Soekmono's theory that the image may have been placed on an open-air pavilion where it would have been seen in the round.

All these statues can be seen as evidence of the widespread worship of Prajñāpāramitā throughout East Java and Sumatra.[45] The stylistic similarities between the images suggest close political, religious, and artistic connections between both regions. No stone images of Prajñāpāramitā have been found that date from the Central Javanese period; thus, the manufacture of these statues in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries also points to an influx of new religious ideas during this period.

Some scholars suggest that the stone Prajñāpāramitā found at Muara Jambi was in fact sent from the Singasari court to Sumatra, like an Amoghapāśa sculpture found at Rambahan (see chapter 4).[46] The discovery of a stone Buddha hand in the style of Ayutthaya confirms that some images were being sent from Thailand to Jambi in the mid-fourteenth century.[47] In the case of the Prajñāpāramitā, there is no inscriptional evidence of such a gift from Java. It seems clear, though, that if the statue was carved in Jambi, it was carved by a sculptor very familiar with Javanese sculpture of the Singasari period. If the piece was carved in Java, the sculptor must have made concessions toward the specific site by carving the image in the round.

An investigation of quarry sites, which has yet to be done, might help de-

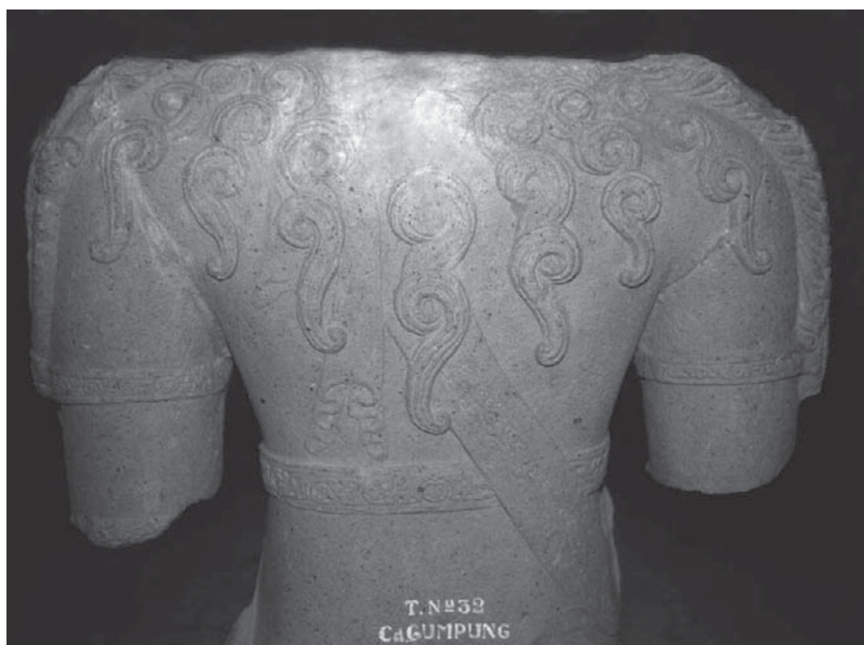


FIGURE 3.12. Prajñāpāramitā, hair of 3.10

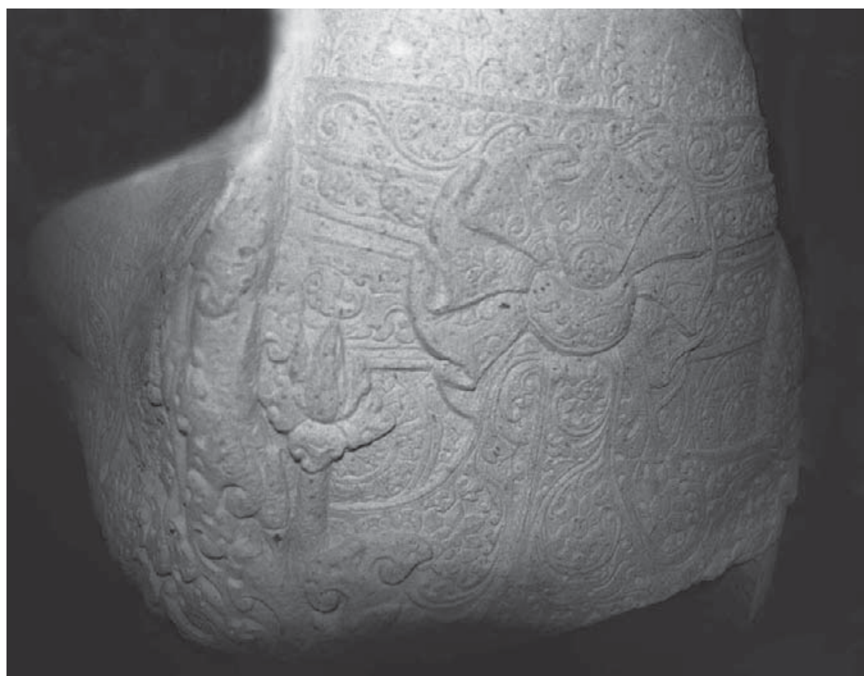


FIGURE 3.13. Prajñāpāramitā, rear of 3.10

termine where the statue was manufactured. Until such an analysis is made, I believe we must assume that the image was made locally.[48] Although the statue of Prajñāpāramitā is the only large statue of a deity found at Muara Jambi, we have evidence from the mid-eleventh century that local sculptors were adept at using stone to carve architectural elements. Four huge *makaras* (1.45 m high) were found at Solok Silpin in Jambi, one of which bears a 1064 CE date. Although these sculptures have some similarities to Javanese *makaras,* the size and intricacy of design are unique to Sumatra.[49]

The appearance of four exquisite statues of Prajñāpāramitā during the late thirteenth or fourteenth century has led to theories suggesting that the sculptures not only represented a Buddhist goddess, but also portrayed a historical figure. The rest of this chapter explores the theories associating Prajñāpāramitā with two famous queens from ancient Javanese history. This exploration involves not only an assessment of the evidence connecting these statues with these rulers, but also a reexamination of the notion of portraiture in East Javanese sculpture.

Prajñāpāramitā as Ken Dedes

The Singasari Prajñāpāramitā is one of the best-known ancient statues in Indonesia. Her image is found on postage stamps, duplicated in plaster casts in regional museums across the archipelago, and reproduced in monumental form in a park in Malang. But if asked to identify the image, many Indonesians would not answer Prajñāpāramitā, the Buddhist goddess of transcendental wisdom, but Ken Dedes, a Singasari queen. This identification dates at least as far back as when the site was visited in the early nineteenth century, and the image was known in Malang as Putri Dedes, or Princess Dedes.[50]

Ken Dedes was a seminal figure in Javanese history. She is considered the first queen of the Singasari dynasty and the matriarchal ancestor from whom the next two centuries of Singasari and Majapahit rulers would descend. The late-fifteenth- or early-sixteenth-century chronicle, the *Pararaton,* recounts the turbulent years of these two dynasties in an account that mixes legend with dynastic history.

According to the *Pararaton,* Ken Dedes, the daughter of a Mahāyāna monk, was kidnapped by, and then married to, the governor of Tumapel, in East Java. An intriguing passage of the chronicle describes a pleasure trip taken by Ken Dedes and her husband to a park. When Ken Dedes descended from her cart, her thighs and genitals were exposed and seemed to give off a fiery glow. A young man in the service of the governor named Ken Angrok

saw her and was captivated.[51] This event marks a pivotal moment, because when Ken Angrok inquired about the significance of a woman who has glowing private parts, he was told whoever married such a woman would become a world ruler *(cakravartin).*

In a series of dramatic events, Ken Angrok (whose name itself means "he who upsets everything") killed the governor and married the already pregnant Ken Dedes. In 1222 he usurped the throne of the Kaḍiri king and took the regnal name Ranggah Rājasa. Several passages of the *Pararaton* describe Ken Angrok's humble background; he was the son of peasants and had spent most of his youth involved in petty crime. At the same time, the text also describes him as the son of a god, at one point Brahmā and another Śiva.[52] His ascension marked the beginning of the Singasari dynasty. Ken Dedes gave birth to her dead husband's son, Anūsapati, who eventually avenged his father's death by killing Ken Angrok, his stepfather.

The evidence that the Singasari Prajñāpāramitā was made as a portrait of Ken Dedes is weak. There are three arguments in favor of this theory. The first is the previously discussed oral tradition of the region. A second reason why Ken Dedes may have been associated with a Buddhist deity is that she was the daughter of a Mahāyāna monk, thus possibly was Buddhist herself (though this is conjecture). A third basis for this association is the style of the statue. The exquisite quality of the carving is reminiscent of the other statuary at Candi Singasari as well as the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* from Candi Jago, both of which are thought to date from the Singasari dynasty (1222–1292).[53] If Ken Dedes died in the middle of the thirteenth century, it is possible that a commemorative statue would have been carved twelve years after her death, thus still in the Singasari dynasty.

Prajñāpāramitā as Rājapatnī

A much tamer description of the seminal events of the Singasari dynasty is given in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,* the other major text that has been used in reconstructing ancient Javanese history.[54] This fourteenth-century chronicle that describes Ken Angrok as a divine incarnation makes no mention of his unsavory background and gives no details of his untimely demise.[55] Likewise, Ken Dedes is never named at all. The text does effusively praise a later Javanese queen, known by the title Rājapatnī.

The Rājapatnī was a queen of the Majapahit dynasty who has also been associated with the Prajñāpāramitā statue. The evidence in her case is more concrete because it derives from a specific series of passages in a written source. A

long passage of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* is devoted to the *śrāddha* (posthumous ceremony) for the Rājapatnī, who was the maternal grandmother of King Rājasanagara. The text describes the enshrinement of the queen, known also as Gāyatrī, at Bhayalangö. Bhayalangö is thought to be the same as the village now known as Boyolangu, where one of the above-discussed headless images of Prajñāpāramitā was found.

The daughter of the last king of the Singasari dynasty (Kṛtanagara) and wife of the first king of the Majapahit dynasty (Kṛtarājasa Jayawardhana, 1293–1309), the Rājapatnī was also an important figure in her own right. The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* gives evidence of her power in decision making: "Her daughter, son-in-law and grandson being kings and queens, / It was she who made them rulers and watched over all their affairs."[56] She is mentioned prominently in the second canto of the chronicle:

> [She] was like an embodiment of the goddess Paramabhagawatī, an excellent parasol for the world,
> Exerting herself in yoga, she practiced Buddhist meditation as a nun, venerable and shaven-headed;
> In śaka 'sight-seven suns' (1272, AD 1350) she was laid to rest, having passed away and gone to the realm of the Buddha.[57]

Almost seven cantos of the text recount the *śrāddha* ceremony of the queen, which is presumed to have taken place in 1362 CE, twelve years after her death. The ceremony is described in great detail, and it appears that little expense was spared in the preparations. Food offerings, processional shrines, and imaginative floats were constructed by artisans, and then paraded through the streets. The royal courtyards were decorated in anticipation of visiting dignitaries and their wives. But perhaps most important was the construction of a "lion-throne," upon which the departed soul would descend to receive offerings.

The description of the exact rituals involved in the *śrāddha* is somewhat obscure.

> Now the procedure for the royal ceremony was the ultimate in worship of the All-Knowing Buddha:
> All the Buddhist priests adept in the Tantras were witnesses to the drawing of the sacred circle,
> Led by the Abbot, the chief court-chaplain who is diligent in the foundation at Naḍī,
> A man of established piety, very virtuous, righteous and completely imbued with the teachings of the Three Tantras.[58]

We do not know what is meant by the drawing of the sacred circle *(maṇḍala-lekhana).* It could signify the establishment of a sacred ring around the ceremony site, or perhaps could refer to a Buddhist *maṇḍala* of sacred deities.

The next stage of the ceremony involved a flower effigy that was intended to house the soul of the deceased.

> On the twelfth the soul was invoked and the recitation of the Sutras was attended to,
> And sacrifices, worship and other efforts were completed for the coming of the soul again.
> The holy flower was brought to life by the means of yoga and that night the Supratiṣṭha ritual was performed.[59]

Finally, on the day of the full moon, all the guests presented offerings to the deceased queen. Dancing and entertainment occurred in the court as elaborate floats with offerings approached the throne. The gifts were eventually divided up among the guests and workers. Canto 67 tells of the dual purpose of all these activities.

> As the princes performed the obsequies to care for the departed in this way,
> So they could not fail to bring about the happiness of the Rājapatnī for whom they were carried out.
> May it move her to bestow prosperity on the king's reign:
> May King Rājasanāgara be victorious over enemies, as long as there are a sun and a moon![60]

The passage indicates the reciprocal nature of the benefits of ancestor worship. The king assures his grandmother's happiness in the afterlife, while she assures his success in the future.

The next passage finally connects the Rājapatnī with Prajñāpāramitā.

> In the morning the Buddhists came to worship and to send off the one they worshipped;
> She became Prajñāpārimitā *[sic]*,[61] returning to the realm of the great Buddha.
> The holy flower-body was promptly cast upon the water, and when it had completely disappeared,
> All the offerings to the demons too were divided up and shared out among the throng of servants.[62]

Although the text does not specifically mention a statue of the deity, it does provide support to the argument that the Rājapatnī was associated with Prajñāpāramitā.

Canto 69 of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* mentions that several places were established for the worship of the queen: "And now Bhayalangö is also a place where the Rājapatnī has been enshrined. . . . The locations for worshipping her are spread far and wide, set up as memorial shrines in every district."[63] If shrines for the queen were erected in "every district," is it possible that multiple statues of Prajñāpāramitā were placed in these shrines? Could this be an explanation for the statues of the goddess found in East Java and Sumatra?

The main argument against this theory is that the ornate style of the Singasari and Jambi Prajñāpāramitā statues points to a date in the Singasari dynasty, not in the Majapahit, when the Rājapatnī lived. The Boyolangu Prajñāpāramitā's less ornate features point to a Majapahit-era date, but the presence of lotuses growing from roots (a hallmark of Singasari sculpture) is peculiar. Most scholars have dealt with this question by dating the Singasari Prajñāpāramitā to circa 1300 CE, a date that nearly straddles the two dynasties.[64]

Despite stylistic questions, I believe that the statue found at Boyolangu is an image erected to commemorate the Rājapatnī. That is not to say that it is a "portrait" as there is no way to tell whether the artist made any attempt to portray any individualistic features of the queen. There is too little evidence to determine with whom, if anyone, the three other images of Prajñāpāramitā were associated. But all indications suggest that Prajñāpāramitā was a particularly important deity in East Java from the last decades of the Singasari dynasty until the mid-fourteenth century.

The Role of Statuary in Death Rituals

The *Nāgarakṛtāgama*'s description of the Rājapatnī's *śrāddha* gives us a hint of how statuary might have been used in posthumous rituals. The text describes one such ceremony: "Prajñāpārimitā-purī is the name by which the holy sanctuary is generally known / And a Prajñāpārimitā-ritual was performed by Śrī Jñānawidhi to establish it."[65] We do not know what is meant by the Prajñāpārimitā ritual; perhaps it indicates the erection of the Prajñāpāramitā statue at the site.

The other rituals mentioned in the text are fascinating in part because they evoke posthumous ceremonies that still take place in Bali and East Java.[66] The

belief in a transitional period after death is widespread throughout the Indonesian archipelago. After the soul's release from the corporeal body, there is an interim before the soul makes its way to the realm of the ancestors / gods. This is a particularly crucial time, and a period when the behavior of the family of the deceased is particularly important. Their rituals help safely transport the soul of the deceased, and in turn the family is favored by its ancestors.

Intriguing evidence from modern Java casts new light on the ancient *śrāddha* practices described in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*. In *Hindu Javanese: Tengger Tradition and Islam,* Robert Hefner describes the traditions of the Tengger peoples of the Mount Bromo region in Eastern Java.[67] Unlike the rest of Java, which converted to Islam, the Tengger region retains a unique religious belief system that has been described as a continuation of that of the ancient Javanese Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms. In reality, the religions of the Tengger are much more complex and reflect both ancient beliefs and the impact of Islam and Balinese religious traditions. It is nevertheless remarkable that a Tengger ceremony that sounds very similar to the Rājapatnī's *śrāddha* is included in Hefner's account of modern Tengger society.

In the Tengger calendar the second month, called Karo, is traditionally dedicated to ritual ceremonies involving the invocation of the ancestors and guardian spirits. Some of the events of this month include food offerings, communal feasting, and dancing. On the second day of a three-day feast a structure is erected that sounds similar to the "lion-throne" of the Majapahit text:

> The priest's assistants erect a special two-legged offering stand (the *tuwuhan*) for a ceremony called the "great offering" *(banten gede)*. . . . The *tuwuhan* itself stands upright, a wooden beam linking its two legs. The legs consist of sugar-cane stalks, palm leaves, flowers, and small branches; the connecting beam is hung with bananas and packets of cooked rice, maize and meat. No ordinary villager can give a name to the spirit for whom all this is intended. They do know, however, that it is designed to serve as a touch-down point for a very powerful — some say the most powerful — heavenly deity.[68]

During the month of Karo, families leave offerings for deceased relatives. "A piece of clothing from each of one's deceased relatives . . . is wrapped around a small leaf-and-flower figurine know as a *petra* or *puspa petra* ('flower of the ancestors')."[69] The final ceremony of the month is call *nyadran,* a word that is derived from the Old Javanese (and Sanskrit) *śrāddha.* It is in no way as elaborate as the Majapahit ceremony, but does involve the invocation of the

dead. Families bring food to grave sites to share with their deceased relatives. Hefner summarizes the similarities of Tengger memorial rites to Majapahit rituals:

> In Majapahit, as in Tengger, the spirit of the dead is invoked and invited to take up temporary residence in a *puspa* flower figurine (Pigeaud 1962: IV:175). Once present, the spirit is entertained over a three-day period, with mountain-shaped rice offerings (176), flower salutations (185), fighting dances (196), and feasting and dancing. Despite six hundred years of cultural change, the details of how one celebrates the presence of family spirits are remarkably similar to those seen in modern Tengger.[70]

Although *śrāddha* rites have their roots in Indian traditions,[71] the description of the Rājapatnī's ceremony shows how much they became transformed on Indonesian soil. Unlike the Indian *śrāddha,* where only close relatives take part, the Javanese ceremony involves the whole community and clearly resembles indigenous funerary rituals from the archipelago.[72] Unfortunately, no tradition of using statuary exists in Tengger today, and our comprehension of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* is insufficient to understand exactly how statues were used during Majapahit times.

The Question of Portraiture

As early as the 1820s, the Singasari Prajñāpāramitā was being called a portrait statue of Ken Dedes. The idea that many other stone statues from the Singasari and Majapahit dynasties might be portraits did not develop until the early twentieth century.[73] It was at this time that Hendrik Kern and J. L. A. Brandes first published translations of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* and found within it references to statues of gods that were erected after the deaths of kings and queens.[74] The notion of royal portraiture may have been reinforced by knowledge of South Indian art, in which patrons are sometimes portrayed in sculpture (e.g., Siṁhaviṣṇu and Mahendravarman, both ancestors of the cave's patron, in the Adi-Varāha cave at Māmallapuram).

In 1905 W. P. Groeneveldt combed through the collections of the Batavia Society to pick out images that, because of their deviations from conventional iconography, could be considered portraits.[75] He found some statues he felt were portraits, but could not associate them with any specific historical figures. A few years later Rouffaer did identify a statue as a king, when he proposed that the image of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa from Belahan (now at the Trowulan Museum) was actually a portrait of the eleventh-century king Airlangga (fig.



FIGURE 3.14. Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, tenth century, perhaps Candi Belahan, East Java, h 1.90 m, Trowulan Museum

3.14).[76] This hypothesis was widely accepted, and in 1939 Stutterheim wrote that it had "obtained the force of a proven fact."[77]

Almost thirty years later this proven fact was challenged by Th. Resink, who wrote a convincing article that used iconography and epigraphy to prove that the site most likely dates from the tenth century, not the eleventh; thus if the statue was originally placed there, it could not possibly be Airlangga.[78] He also notes that the Dutch substantially reconstructed the face of the image. "The repairing and especially the 'restoration' of the faces of ancient Javanese stone images was common practice when, in the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of this century, prominent Netherlanders and Javanese nobles started to acquire such antiques to adorn their homes and gardens."[79] This restoration made it impossible to determine whether a statue's facial features were individualistic.

The information provided by the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* and the *Pararaton* led scholars to believe that the remains of deceased kings and queens were actually enshrined along with their portrait statues within temples. Soekmono has since convincingly demonstrated that *candis* were not funerary but commemorative. The confusion of scholars regarding the terminology used in the texts does not help explicate matters. *Pratiṣṭhā, pratimā, pradīpa, wimba,* and *arcā* are all terms used to refer to images. In Pigeaud's translation of the text he defines the terms as follows:

> The difference between the use of *arcā* (rendered: Statue or cult-statue) and *pratiṣṭhā* (rendered for want of anything better: Divine Abode) seems to be the *arcā* in the Nāg[arakṛtāgama] idiom may refer to any piece of religious statuary while *pratiṣṭhā* (literally: abode, namely of a divine being) always refers to a consecrated statue of a god or goddess with whom a King or Queen is identified. *Pratimā* is a small statue, a statuette.[80]

The word *pratiṣṭhā* does not seem to have been used on its own to indicate an image, but instead refers to the invocation of the soul of the deceased into an effigy. [81]

Stutterheim was correct in associating the erection of statues with indigenous ancestor worship, but he went too far in claiming that these statues were portraits. It is more probable that statues were meant to help in the transition of the soul of the deceased from this world to the next one. After the soul had fused with a deity, both the god and the ancestor could be worshipped at once. During Hayam Wuruk's tour of the Majapahit realm as described in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,* he clearly takes time to worship at shrines associated with his ancestors.

Other images that have been considered portrait statues date from the Singasari and Majapahit era, mostly from the late thirteenth to the fourteenth century (fig. 3.15). Unlike the Viṣṇu from Belahan in its present form, they do not have strikingly individualistic facial features. They do share some peculiar characteristics that have led scholars to believe that they were posthumous portraits. All the images are very stiff, and most are depicted with downcast or closed eyes. Their attributes are unconventional, sometimes mixing emblems of Śiva and Viṣṇu, and almost always displaying a *mudrā* of meditation. And, finally, all of the images are crowned.

Marijke Klokke has convincingly argued against the idea that these images are portraits.[82] Rather than trying to connect individual statues with historical figures, she examines a large sample of such images and categorizes their iconography. Klokke notes that the images are richly attired, with unfixed



FIGURE 3.15. Standing female deity, fourteenth century, from Candi Rimbi, East Java, h 2 m, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 257

attributes, and often display gestures of meditation. In Old Javanese literature, the state of meditation is often associated with spiritual liberation. Her conclusions are similar to those of Resink, who noted, "It may be better to speak of deliverance symbols rather than posthumous images, let alone portrait statues."[83] Klokke underscores that although they display both royal and divine features, these statues are not individualized in any way. As a group, the images are remarkably similar, with little distinction in facial or bodily features. That is not to say that these statues were not intended to be associated

with specific people, just that they did not mimic the physical characteristics of any individual.

The kings and queens of ancient Java were believed to merge with a chosen deity after death. The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* tells us that temples built to commemorate a deceased king were constructed twelve years after his death.[84] A statue of a deity with whom the king was associated during his life was erected within the temple. Sometimes multiple temples each enclosing a different image were built for the same king. In fact, records indicate that almost every king since Wiṣṇuwardhana was commemorated with both a Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite and a Buddhist image.[85]

In general, it seems that kings and queens were not considered divine during their lifetimes, but may have been seen as incarnations or partial incarnations *(aṃśāvatāra)* of specific deities.[86] While alive, the ruler would lead a human existence, and then upon death return to "the abode of the gods."[87] During their time on earth, rulers would seek to accumulate spiritual power, often through meditation, but this power was in no way equated with divinity.[88] The "human" nature of kingship is illustrated in the sixteenth-century *Pararaton,* which includes a story of a king who unsuccessfully tries to convince his court that he was Śiva.[89]

The vast majority of ancient Indonesian statues represent idealized figures, with few distinctive characteristics. The Joko Dolok statue, discussed in chapter 2, is a notable exception. If images of gods were also portraits of rulers, it seems as if little attention was paid to conveying distinct physiognomies.[90] In "The Very Idea of a Portrait," Vidya Dehejia discusses ancient portraits in Indian art in which "artists did not sculpt images recognizable by their physical characteristics; rather, correct identifications was possible only from inscribed labels or specific references to the sculptor's commission." In the "generic idealized figures" produced, "verisimilitude appears to have been of little consequence."[91]

In her article, Dehejia points to several examples of kings who were portrayed not as worshippers, but as gods themselves. She first refers to the fourth-century play *Pratimā-nāṭaka,* based on the story of Rāma. In the play Rāma prepares to worship images in the pavilion, and then is told to his surprise that the statues are actually representations of his father and other forbears. Dehejia also describes the Cōḷa commission of bronze royal portraits as described in inscriptions at Tanjavur.[92] The use of the term "portrait" for these examples seems to stretch conventional notions of portraiture (especially Western notions) in which producing a "likeness" of an individual is of importance. What makes a representation a portrait? Does it lie in the intention of the

artist to depict an individual? Or does what the image looks like matter at all — is a portrait merely in the eye of the beholder?

Dehejia seeks to answer these questions by examining Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain beliefs about the human body. She hypothesizes that the Indian "indifference to verisimilitude" in portraiture may be based on the fact that the body was seen as a temporary abode in a cycle of rebirths. Thus, in this case an idealized representation would better serve to represent the individual: "Perhaps it is not so strange, after all, that the reproduction of physiognomic likeness held little significance in a society which believed that the physical features of the present birth would be replaced by a new set of bodily features in the next birth and that the ultimate state of salvation is the self unencumbered by a body."[93]

In stark contrast to the stone sculpture of the Singasari and Majapahit dynasties, though, are the Majapahit-era terra-cottas, which depict clearly unique, unidealized individuals, distinct in facial features and clothing. These sculptures give us a real picture of the inhabitants of Eastern Java at that time, showing individuals of all ages, ethnicities, and classes.[94] These images attest to the fact that some sculptors, working in a different medium, were indeed interested in naturalistic portraiture. We know little about the uses of these terracotta sculptures. Some seem to have been used as architectural ornaments. Perhaps the possibility that they were mostly used for purposes other than royal ancestor worship allowed the depiction of these unidealized individuals.[95]

The Prajñāpāramitā Today

Much of our knowledge of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Java is based on one text, the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*. Although parts of the poem read like a panegyric for the royal patron, Hayam Wuruk, as a whole the manuscript truly is a kind of travelogue, a mapping of the realm, that gives the reader a picture of the Majapahit dynasty at its pinnacle. Scholars today see the hyperbole and propaganda in this picture of a widespread and largely harmonious empire.

Until fairly recently there was only one known copy of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,*[96] a Balinese transcription dating from 1740 that was stored at the Cakranagara *kraton* (palace) in Lombok. During the colonial conquest of Lombok in 1894, the manuscript was "rescued" by the Dutch during their sack of the palace. J. L. A. Brandes, a Dutch philologist who had been sent with the military to recover items of cultural interest, returned with the manuscript to the Netherlands.

As S. Supomo writes in "The Image of Majapahit in Later Javanese and Indonesian Writing," the translation and publication of this manuscript radically changed the perception of the Majapahit era. Until that time scholars had relied on another, later text, the *Babad Tanah Jawi,* which paints a much more derogatory image of the dynasty. In contrast, the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* depicted the realm during a golden age of prosperity. Ironically, this indigenous vision of the Majapahit era, rediscovered by the Dutch during the Lombok War, helped give rise to the growing anti-Dutch independence movement. Supomo writes:

> It is, perhaps, more than a coincidence that it was during the period of the rebirth of Prapanca's Majapahit that Budi Utomo, the first embodiment of the Javanese national awakening, was founded in 1908 — a decade after the publication of the *Pararaton,* three years after the first instalment of Kern's articles on the *Nagarakrtagama.* Initially this organization sought the stimulation and advancement of the Javanese people only, but this regionalism soon gave way to the idea of one Indonesia covering the whole of the Netherlands East Indies, the idea which was shared by other regional-based associations. And what better model for this one Indonesia which was free and united than the great Majapahit, the real Majapahit which had just been brought back to life by the labour of great scholars like Brandes, Kern and Krom, and the expanse of which coincided with, or was even larger than, the Netherlands Indies?[97]

The founding fathers of the new nation of Indonesia worried about following the Majapahit model, seeing its "imperialist expansionism" as just as problematic as the colonialism of the Dutch.[98] And indeed, in Indonesia's rulers' attempts to manage a vast and diverse nation, they have faced problems similar to those that the Dutch faced before them. The modern Indonesian government's efforts to keep together a large and varied state has involved its own type of colonialism, the exploitation of the outer islands, in service of Java.

What is the relevance of statues such as the Prajñāpāramitā to this picture today? The image is a statue of a prominent Buddhist deity, but this is clearly not the only thing she represents. Quite possibly she was once associated with the Majapahit queen, the Rājapatnī, a powerful fourteenth-century figure. Whether as originally intended or not, she has become an image that represents Ken Dedes, the founding matriarchal ancestor of the Singasari and Majapahit realms.

The lasting impact of the Ken Dedes story on Javanese politics can be felt



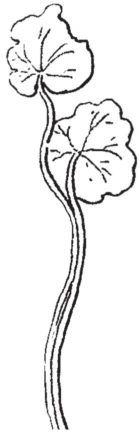
FIGURE 3.16. Prajñāpāramitā, late twentieth century, municipal park, Malang, East Java

even today. According to some Javanese, one of the reasons for the fall of Suharto in the late 1990s was the death of his wife, Ibu Tien. "When Suharto rose to power, people believed that the wife had the *wahyu* [divine power], the flaming womb, and whoever united with her would get the *wahyu*. After her death people began to sense the *wahyu* was gone."[99] This vision of the woman as the source of political power relates directly back to the myth of Ken Dedes and her "flaming womb."

The statue has also taken on new meanings in more recent times. In the

early nineteenth century it was taken to Holland and became known as the Leiden Prajñāpāramitā. In 1978 the statue was finally repatriated in an important acknowledgment by the former colonial power of Indonesia's right to this national masterpiece. Since that time, the image has become one of the most frequently reproduced ancient Javanese images. Her face has graced the cover of several books, including the catalogue of the last touring international exhibition of Indonesian art.

The Prajñāpāramitā statue has become a symbol and a tool for the modern Indonesian state. The image's connection with the historical figure Ken Dedes reminds one of the long history of the "nation," and the quality of artisanship instills a pride in the former "golden age." The modern replicas of the image are symbols of a united realm that are introduced to children in school, reinforced by their imprint on postage stamps and their erection in parks (fig. 3.16). The Singasari/Leiden/Jakarta Prajñāpāramitā/Ken Dedes/Rājapatnī statue is a perfect example of Richard Davis's statement that responses to religious objects "are primarily grounded not in universal aesthetic principles of sculptural form or in a common human psychology of perception, but more significantly in varied (and often conflicting) cultural notions of divinity, representation, and authority."[100]



CHAPTER FOUR

The Many Roles of the Amoghapāśa *Maṇḍala*

THE REMARKABLY BEAUTIFUL statues of the bodhisattva Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara and his retinue found at Candi Jago in East Java have often been cited as evidence of a new wave of religious and stylistic influences from the Pāla kingdom in eastern India.[1] This chapter addresses questions of Indian influence and explores the religious and political significance of Amoghapāśa (an eight-armed form of Avalokiteśvara) in Java during the Singasari and Majapahit dynasties. The statues from Candi Jago are intriguing in their own right, but they are particularly interesting because they were replicated in both stone and bronze. These copies were sent from East Java to locations as far away as West Sumatra. The Amoghapāśa statues are instructive in illustrating the many functions of sculpture during this period. These images were tools for both commemoration and legitimization, and played an important role in some of the primary preoccupations of the king: veneration of ancestors, accumulation of merit, and expansion of the realm.

The Amoghapāśa Statue at Candi Jago

Unlike the wealth of Buddhist temples found in Central Java, there are only a few major structures in East Java that can be definitely identified as Buddhist: Candi Jago, Candi Sumberawan, Candi Jabung, Candi Dadi, Candi Boyolangu (Gayatri), and Candi Sanggrahan (Cungkup). For a few monuments (e.g., Candi Singasari and Candi Jawi), literary references or archaeological remains seem to indicate both a Hindu and a Buddhist presence at the site. And even at a temple like Candi Jago, for which, as A. J. Bernet Kempers writes, "the Buddhist character . . . is beyond doubt,"[2] the bas-reliefs are of a distinctly mixed character.[3]

The structure of Candi Jago itself is also different from either Hindu or



FIGURE 4.1. Candi Jago, ca. thirteenth–fourteenth century, Tumpang, East Java

Buddhist precedents. Instead of the typically cruciform shape of temples in Central Java, the base of the *candi* is composed of a series of recessed terraces, with the central cella set at the rear (east) of the third level (fig. 4.1). This form became more prevalent in the fourteenth century and is epitomized by the even later terraced pyramid temples of Candi Sukuh and Ceto. This structural development has been seen as a move away from Indian prototypes and toward indigenous mountain temples, and indeed many of these late temples also show a sculptural iconography unknown in India. There is also evidence that the primary functions of the buildings likewise changed.

The date of the construction of Candi Jago is uncertain. The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* describes the king Wiṣṇuwardhana's death in 1268 and states that a commemorative Buddhist statue was erected for him at Jajaghu, from which the modern Jago is derived.[4] Scholars assume that the initial structure was constructed either in 1268 or twelve years later, in 1280, when Wiṣṇuwardhana's *śrāddha* ceremonies would have been performed. Yet W. F. Stutterheim has proposed that the date of the current structure and the sculpture found at the site are mid-fourteenth century, rather than thirteenth.[5]

Some of Stutterheim's arguments regarding the age of the current structure

are convincing. Other temples with recessed terraced ground plans, such as Candi Tigowangi, Candi Surowono, and Candi Panataran, all date from the mid to late fourteenth century. Also, the style of the reliefs, with their *wayang*-like imagery and use of *punakawan* (*wayang*-clown) figures, is predominant in Majapahit-period carving. Finally, an inscription from 1343 found at the site describes the foundation of a *prasāda* at Jago.[6] This inscription has variously been interpreted as meaning the building of the current structure or some kind of renovation of an already present temple. Other scholars have accepted the plausibility of a fourteenth-century date for the reliefs at Jago, but have questioned the validity of that date for the statuary.[7]

Unfortunately, Candi Jago has borne much damage, and only part of one wall of the central cella remains standing. Thus we can only conjecture about the original placement of the statuary within it. In one of the earliest published accounts of the site, the main image was already displaced. Sir Thomas Raffles writes, "Behind the ruin, and apparently in the same spot on which it originally fell, lies a dilapidated image of a Hindu deity."[8] Today, in front of a barbed-wire fence that runs along the south side of the temple complex, stand two clusters of assorted pieces of stone sculpture. They face the temple, but sadly, because of the condition of the ruins, cannot be incorporated into the reconstruction. Some pieces, such as the giant *kāla* heads, would have most likely fit above portals in the central cella. The original placement of other pieces of sculpture is still unknown. Among them are a small stout guardian figure; the heads of several deities; the torso of a bhairava; an image of Śiva's bull, Nandi; a *liṅga;* and other fragments.

What gives the temple its distinctly Buddhist character is another collection of freestanding sculpture that was found at the site but that has for the most part been removed. These statues consist of Amoghapāśa, his four attendants, four cosmic buddhas (also known as Jina Buddhas), and their four *śakti*. Of the thirteen statues that originally made up this Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala,* only the central image remains in situ, standing forlorn in the courtyard of the temple (fig. 4.2). Even in its damaged state (the head and several of the hands are missing), it is easy to imagine the former grandeur of the statue. From the ankles to the neck it measures 1.5 meters, thus was over two meters high when complete. The lotus base of the image now stands in a different part of the compound, directly in front of the western face of the temple. It, too, is massive: 1.68 meters wide and 1.24 meters high.

The sculpture of Amoghapāśa stands upright against a plain back slab. On either side of him are lotus plants that grow up from wavy lines that look like roots. As has been noted, this is thought to be a hallmark of Singasari-period



FIGURE 4.2. Amoghapāśa, ca. 1268–1280, Candi Jago, Tumpang, East Java, h 2.15 m

sculpture; images from the Majapahit period tend to have lotus plants growing from small pots.[9] The plants are beautifully depicted, curving to expose the delicately veined undersides of the leaves. Amoghapāśa wears a long sarong, with swallowtail folds on either side of his legs and also running down the middle. The waistband has been damaged, but appears to have been belted with a bow and a buckle, as still can be seen on some of the other images from the site. A row of pearls or other beads, ending in a tassel below the knee, runs down the length of each thigh. On the upper right thigh the face of a tiger can be seen, and the legs of this tiger skin drape down onto each of the thighs. A small flower is carved on the hind paw of the tiger. Exquisite details like these emphasize the skill of the sculptor. A long pearl *upavīta* (sacred thread) swings over the left shoulder on top of a broad sash that also crosses the body. The middle of the chest is encircled with a band made of interlocking horizontal leaves.[10]

According to Stamford Raffles, who visited Jago in 1815, the image's head had been removed and taken to Malang by a Dutch man several years earlier.[11] Raffles does illustrate the statue as well as its head, without explaining where exactly he encountered it (figs. 4.3, 4.4, 4.5). The simple drawing shows the head, with a tall *jaṭāmukuṭa,* containing a small seated Buddha. The Buddha is presumably Amitābha, and most likely displays the *dhyāna mudrā,* but the sketch is not detailed enough to illustrate the gesture. The upper right side of the face and crown has been broken off. The left eye appears closed and the mouth slightly smiling. On Amoghapāśa's forehead is a mark resembling a teardrop on a circle above a half moon shape. Large, square, lock-shaped earrings hang from both ears. Above the left ear, a large decorated teardrop-shaped form partially covers the fully blooming lotus behind it.

Despite the removal of the head of the statue, the three folds of the neck *(trivala)* are still visible on the torso, as well as one thin and one crescent-shaped necklace. Near the junction of Amoghapāśa's neck and shoulders are *makara*-shaped ornaments. Strands of pearls spew from the mouths of these *makaras,* falling over the shoulders until they are gathered in tassels at the upper forearm. A single ringlet of hair also follows a similar path along the top of each shoulder. A flaming aureole frames the space where the head once was, with a small row of pearls forming the inner edge of the halo. Two scarves float upward, mimicking the flames, and also pointing toward the two inscriptions on either side of the headdress. The right side reads in Nāgarī script *Bharāla,* and on the left the word *Amitābha.* On the back slab to either side of the inner aureole are two more inscriptions in the same script, reading *Bharāla Aryāmoghapāśa Lokeśvara.* The word *bharāla* as well as *bharālī,*

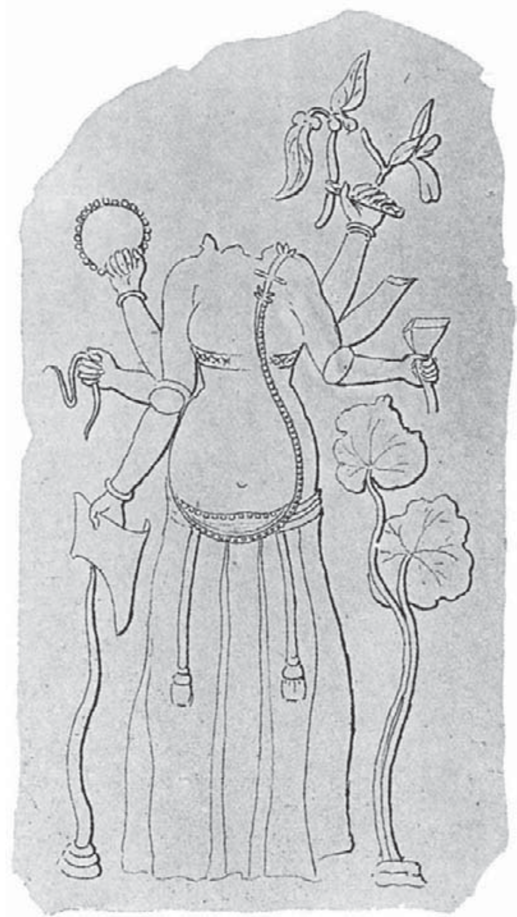


FIGURE 4.3. Amoghapāśa, Candi Jago, drawing from Raffles, *History of Java,* 42

found on images of goddesses from the site, are derived from Sanskrit sources and also used in Nepalese Buddhist texts.[12] These inscriptions identify the statue as Amoghapāśa, a form of Avalokiteśvara, and presumably also once identified the image of Amitābha that sat in the figure's headdress.

The attributes of the sculpture also point to this identification, though many of them have broken off. The most important attribute is the *pāśa,* or noose, held in the second uppermost right hand (see fig. 4.2). The *pāśa* gives this form of Avalokiteśvara his name, Amoghapāśa, meaning "one whose noose never fails." The noose acts as a lasso with which the bodhisattva encompasses all sentient beings in need of his overwhelming compassion. Only a few of Amoghapāśa's other attributes are still in place. The figure's uppermost right hand holds an *akṣamālā* (rosary), the next the *pāśa;* the other two right hands have been broken off. An early photograph from the Dutch Archaeological Service shows a detached hand in the *varada mudrā,* which belonged



FIGURE 4.4. Head of Amoghapāśa, Candi Jago, drawing from Raffles, *History of Java,* 42



FIGURE 4.5. Head of Amoghapāśa, side view, Candi Jago, drawing from *Raffles, History of Java,* 42

to the lower right arm. On the left side, the uppermost hand holds a book, the next is missing, the third hand holds a straight sticklike object (stem, handle?), and the lower hand is also missing (see fig. 4.2).

Literary Precedents

No existing texts from Indonesia mention the Amoghapāśa form of Avalokiteśvara, nor is he described in the *Sādhanamālā* or the *Niṣpannayogāvalī,* two Indian texts with iconographic descriptions.[13] But there is no doubt that he was widely popular, and images of the deity can be found in India, Java, Tibet, Nepal, China, and Japan. The major text devoted to Amoghapāśa is the *Amoghapāśakalparāja,* a volume of twenty-six chapters. The first chapter of this text was also published as the *Amoghapāśahṛdaya Mahāyāna-sūtra*.

The earliest known information on Amoghapāśa comes from Chinese translations of this text that were made by Jnānagupta in 587 CE, Hsüan-tsang in 659, Bodhiruci in 693, and Amoghavajra in the seventh century.[14] Tibetan versions of *Amoghapāśahṛdaya* texts emphasize Amoghapāśa's role as a compassionate savior; recitation of his *mantras* results in twenty blessings

in this world, and eight for those near death.[15] However, the texts give only a cursory description of the deity.

In "Amoghapāśa: Some Nepalese Representations and Their Vajrayānic Aspects," R. O. Meisezahl examines both Nepalese *paṭa* paintings depicting the god and also *sādhana,* texts that describe the iconography of the deity to aid worshippers in their meditation. A *sādhana* written by Kaśmīri Śakyaśrībhadra (1127–1225), now extant only in its Tibetan translation, describes the white Amoghapāśa:

> He is one-faced, and represented as an eight-armed deity. Two of his four right arms hold a rosary and a lasso. The other two show the *Abhayamudrā (mi ' jigs pa sbyin pa)* and the *Varadamudrā (mchog sbyin pa).* In the four left hands are a *tridaṇḍī,* a book, a lotus stem, and a round ewer. Amoghapāśa wears a white long Dhoti (*na bza'* "lower garment") with a tiger-skin round his waist. An antelope's hide hangs from the left shoulder serving him as a sacred thread *(se ral kha).* His crown of chignon bears the image of Amitābha. He has a smiling countenance. Decorated with the celestial ornaments, Amoghapāśa has as white *Prabhāmaṇḍala* the light of the five Tathāgatas' bodies which emanate from his own body. He looks with compassion at living creatures.[16]

The Jago Amoghapāśa seems to closely fit the description from Śakyaśrībhadra's *sādhana,* though he lacks the antelope skin *upavīta.* This *sādhana* also mentions Amoghapāśa's attendants, Hayagrīva, Sudhanakumāra, Bhṛkuṭī, and Tārā. Sculptures of these four figures were also found at Jago, as well as statues of the Tathāgata or cosmic buddhas.

Amoghapāśa's Retinue

The statues of Amoghapāśa's attendants are much better preserved than the main image. Today, all four stand together at the Museum Nasional in Jakarta (figs. 4.6, 4.7, 4.8, 4.9). A description of these companions to Amoghapāśa appears in the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* of Śakyaśrībhadra.

> At his [Amoghapāśa's] right side is the yellow Sudhanakumāra with a book tugged *[sic]* away under his left arm and with both hands in añjalimudrā. To his right side is the green Tārā holding a blue lotus in her hand, which she displays with her right hand. Both (Sudhanakumāra and Tārā) are adorned with all kinds of jewelry.
>
> At the left side of the Lord (Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara) is the red Hayagrīva

with a short and stout body. He has three eyes and protruding teeth. His red hair is raised and he has a terrifying outlook. He is adorned with a tiger-skin and a snake. With his right hand he makes a menacing gesture, and his left hand he leans on a white staff.

To his left is the reddish yellow Bhṛkuṭī. In her two left hands she carries the water-jar and the triple staff. In her two right hands she has the rosary and the vandanamudrā. She has the outlook of an ascetic.[17]

With some small exceptions the iconographical details of this description seem to fit the Jago sculptures remarkably well.[18] The beauty of these specific images, though, is harder to express. They are all exquisitely carved, with great detail applied to evoking the texture of delicate surfaces: the veining of the underside of a lotus leaf, the intricate filigree of a coin-shaped earring, the feathery curls of an unruly eyebrow. Great attention, too, is applied to the jewelry, girdles, sashes, headdresses, and other ornaments.

On a few statues the carving of some of the *mudrās* of the figures seems a little stilted. Sudhanakumāra's palms pressed in the reverent *añjali mudrā* seem too chubby (fig. 4.10), and the *vandana* (hailing) *mudrās* of Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva are stiff and detached. But perhaps the awkwardness of those gestures is exaggerated by the power of the other remarkably conveyed *mudrās*. Bhṛkuṭī clasps a rosary to her chest with two slender fingers (fig. 4.11), as the others curve gently around her breast. In contrast, Hayagrīva's fast grasp upon a thick club makes it an extension of his powerful arm (fig. 4.9). Tārā, unlike the description from the *sādhana* above, holds three small flowers, which do not appear to be lotuses. They peek through her *dharmacakra mudrā,* the fingers of the right hand falling over them like a cresting wave, while the unnaturally stiff fingers of the left hand stretch, slightly convex, to reach the opposite wrist (fig. 4.13).

All of the attendant statues are quite tall — Hayagrīva and Bhṛkuṭī, who still stand on their lotus pedestals, are 1.53 and 1.38 meters respectively. Śyāmatārā and Sudhanakumāra, without pedestals, stand 1.12 and 1.14 meters high. The sculptures have much in common. On either side of each figure are lotus plants growing up from what look like wavy roots. The back slabs are plain with the exception of inscriptions with the deities' names (missing as a result of damage to the Tārā image) and scarves that float up on either side of the statues' heads.

Tārā stands fairly stiffly, with her right knee slightly forward and her head leaning slightly to the left. Her two hands display a *dharmacakra mudrā*. Sudhanakumāra likewise holds the same pose, but his two hands are joined



FIGURE 4.6. Śyāmatārā, ca. 1268–1280, Candi Jago, East Java, h 1.12 m, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 247b



FIGURE 4.7. Bhṛkuṭī, ca. 1268–1280, Candi Jago, East Java, h 1.38 m, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 112a

in an *añjali mudrā.* Bhṛkuṭī's posture is a mirror image of Tārā's, though her torso and head incline more sharply. Her upper right hand is in the *vandana mudrā;* the lower clasps a rosary to her chest. Her left upper hand holds a curious *tridaṇḍī* (three-pointed staff) that resembles a stick with two small shoots; her lower hand, a *kendi* (water vessel).[19]

All three figures have similar clothing and ornaments. Their long sarongs, belted with sashes and girdles, are decorated with a design of overlapping circles (known as a *kawung* pattern). Large bows of cloth are gathered at their sides. Sashes from these bows loop down to form two nestled U shapes over their thighs. All three have tall conical headdresses, striated by rows of beads and other ornaments. They wear bracelets on wrists and upper arms, anklets, necklaces, rings on fingers and toes, as well as *upavīta.* Tārā



FIGURE 4.8. Sudhanakumāra, ca. 1268–1280, Candi Jago, East Java, h 1.14 m, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 247a



FIGURE 4.9. Hayagrīva, ca. 1268–1280, Candi Jago, East Java, h 1.53 m, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 76a

and Sudhanakumāra have beautiful filigreed earplugs, while Bhṛkuṭī wears hoops that stretch her long lobes. All of these three deities seem serene, almost asleep, but close inspection shows that their eyes are slightly open and looking downward.

Hayagrīva's fierce appearance is in stark contrast to the gentle nature of the other figures. He has a squat *vāmana* (dwarfish) body type, with thick limbs and a round face. His right hip juts out, while the bulk of his large stomach protrudes in the opposite direction. He is equally finely carved, and at first sight seems to wear jewelry and clothing similar to that of the other statues. Looking closer, however, one can see that much of his jewelry is made from snakes: one twists through his hair, others are curled into a tight spring that forms the plug of his earring, and a large snake forms his *upavīta*. Likewise his



FIGURE 4.10. Sudhanakumāra, detail of figure 4.8



FIGURE 4.11. Bhṛkuṭī, detail of figure 4.7

clothing differs slightly from the other figures. His sarong is not patterned, and the sashes falling from bows at his hips are drawn up again to his waist buckle. On top of his sarong is a beautifully carved tiger skin, the head smiling from his right thigh while the tail falls down the inside of his left thigh. The paws of the tiger skin have small flowers carved on them, similar to those on Amoghapāśa's tiger skin.

Hayagrīva's face also betrays his *krodha* (fierce) nature (fig. 4.12). Below his feathery eyebrows are large protruding eyes. His mouth is slightly open, bearing his teeth and fangs. A mustache frames his upper lip and juts out on either side of his mouth. His hair is indicated by thin carved striations and is gathered up in a large egg-shaped bun. He wears a crown with five skulls. His right hand is raised in the *vandana mudrā,* while the left grasps a thick club.

Because of the damage to Candi Jago's central cella, we do not know how these subsidiary images were originally arranged around the central statue of Amoghapāśa. In the monograph on Candi Jago, J. L. A. Brandes shows several



FIGURE 4.12. Hayagrīva, detail of figure 4.9



FIGURE 4.13. Śyāmatārā, detail of figure 4.6

possible ground plans with varying placements of the images.[20] J. A. Schoterman suggests, following Krom, that originally the Amoghapāśa image was in the center of the cella, with Hayagrīva against the back wall, Sudhanakumāra in front of the main image, and Bhṛkuṭī and Tārā against the north and south walls respectively. Although this arrangement fits Schoterman's interpretation of a *sādhana* description, it seems unlikely that the image of Sudhanakumāra was placed in front of Amoghapāśa, blocking the view of him as one approached the sanctum.[21] Also, the fact that these two statues are not carved in the round suggests that they were originally placed against a wall. In any event, it appears that the Amoghapāśa image was eventually moved against the back (east) wall. Schoterman suggests that Hayagrīva was then placed in the northeast corner and Sudhanakumāra in the southeast.[22]

Although it is impossible to tell how these images were originally displayed, a clue may come from two other Indonesian images of Amoghapāśa with his retinue. It is widely assumed that both these images were produced



FIGURE 4.14. Amoghapāśa, 1286, Rambahan, West Sumatra, h 1.63 m, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 6469

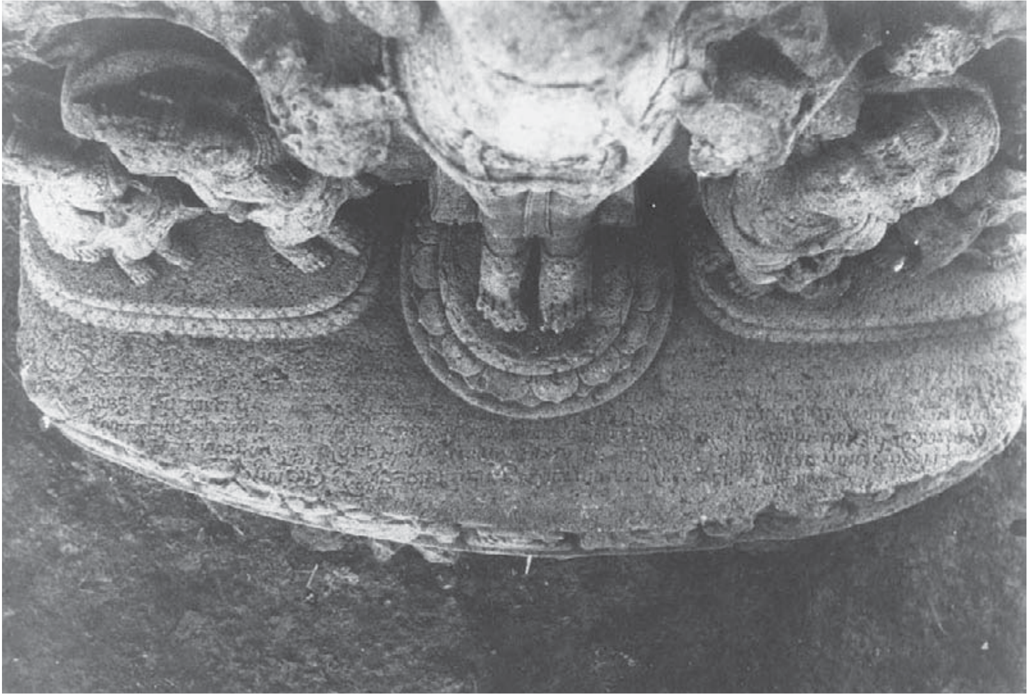


FIGURE 4.15. Amoghapāśa, inscription on figure 4.14

by King Kṛtanagara, the last king of the Singasari dynasty, and were in fact attempts to replicate the images at Jago. Luckily, one of the sculptures, which was found near Rambahan in West Sumatra, has three inscriptions: a dated one on the base, another on the back of the stele, and a third at the feet of the god (fig. 4.14). The second inscription is from the mid-fourteenth century, and will be discussed later; the third is highly eroded and has never, to my knowledge, been translated (fig. 4.15).[23]

The first inscription appears in four lines that run along three sides of the rectangular base of the statue. They are inscribed in large Sanskrit letters in the Kawi script. In Krom's translation of the text, the inscription is prefaced by a long series of phrases that establish the date, Śaka 1208 (1286 CE). It goes on to state that the image of Amoghapāśa with thirteen attendants and seven jewels was sent from Java to Suvarṇabhūmi (Sumatra) to be erected at Dharmāśraya. Four titled officials accompanied the statue, which was a gift of Prince Wiśwarūpa, made possible by Mahārāja Kṛtanagara. The sculpture was for King Mauliwarnadhana and for the pleasure of the subjects of Malāyu, of all four castes.

A series of bronze plaques depicting the same arrangement of figures was



FIGURE 4.16. Amoghapāśa plaque, bronze, ca. 1268–1292, Tumpang, East Java, h 22 cm, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden

also commissioned by Kṛtanagara. Both the plaques and the stone sculpture (which will be discussed in greater depth later), show a central figure of Amoghapāśa. It is easier to see the arrangement of subsidiary figures on the plaque (fig. 4.16), as the stone stele has borne significant damage, especially to the top. On Amoghapāśa's left are Hayagrīva and Bhṛkuṭī, on his right Sudhanakumāra then Śyāmatārā. Along the top of the plaque are the four cosmic buddhas, two on either side of the central deity's head. From his right to left they are Ratnasambhava, Vairocana, Akṣobhya, and Amoghasiddhi; the fifth Jina, Amitābha, is present in Amoghapāśa's headdress.

The *prajñās,* or female counterparts of these Jinas, are also displayed. In the plaque each has a lotus leaf as a halo. In both the plaque and the stele all the *prajñās* are in the *añjali mudrā,* thus indistinguishable. We know, though, that the freestanding sculptures from Candi Jago did have individual *mudrās.* Of the freestanding statues of the five *prajñās* from Jago — Vajradhātvīśvarī, Śyāmatārā, Pānduravasinī, Locanā, and Māmakhī — only the latter three exist in small (approximately 30 cm) sculptures.[24] Presumably Śyāmatārā was not replicated because she already appeared once in larger form.



FIGURE 4.17. Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Pānduravasinī, Locanā, ca. 1268–1280, from Candi Jago, East Java, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 224a, 225a, 248b, 248a

While the plaque and the stele may give us some idea as to the arrangement of Amoghapāśa's attendants in the central cella of Jago, they do not help us much with the arrangement of the Jinas and *prajñās*. It has been assumed that the Jinas were originally placed in the superstructure of the main cella, in niches to the cardinal directions with which each is associated: Akṣobhya, east; Ratnasambhava, south; Amoghasiddhi, north; Vairocana, center/zenith. Amitābha, who was represented by the figure in Amoghapāśa's headdress, faces west.[25] This arrangement of Jinas is described in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.[26] Of the Jina Buddha images, only Akṣobhya and Ratnasambhava remain (see fig. 4.17, far left and far right, respectively). They are small, less than thirty centimeters tall, and sit in *padmāsana* on a double-lotus pedestal. The heads of both images have been chiseled off, leaving an empty space between the Nāgarī inscriptions on either side of the otherwise plain rectangular stele. Each wears a simple monk's robe that gathers in nestled folds beneath the ankles. A folded swath of cloth also falls over the left shoulder.

The *prajñā* images are slightly larger than the Jinas, and more eroded. They too sit in *padmāsana* on a double-lotus pedestal. The back slab is rectangular, with a raised halo around the head of the goddess. On either side of the halo is an inscription with the deity's name. Carved against the stele, behind the knees of the goddesses, are sashes that defy gravity by flying straight upward. All three images are very similar in terms of clothing, ornament, and facial expression. Pānduravasinī's face has been smashed and Locanā is highly eroded. Pānduravasinī holds her characteristic lotus, while Locanā has a lotus upon which rests a discus (see fig. 4.17, central two images). The sculpture of Māmakhī, now in the British Museum, is in the best physical condition, and



FIGURE 4.18. Māmakhī, ca. 1268–1280, from Candi Jago, East Java, h 48 cm

details that are missing on the other two images are still discernible here (fig. 4.18). She wears a tall *jaṭāmukuṭa,* a delicately patterned sarong, and ornate jewelry. Her right hand is in the *varada mudrā,* while her left holds a lotus. Curiously, the *vajra,* the characteristic attribute that one might expect to see on the lotus, is missing. This statue was found by the British in the early nineteenth century and taken back to England.[27] Scholars believe that like the Jina images, they were also placed in the roof of the main cella; each is also associated with a direction, which may have guided their placement.

Pāla Influence?

Stylistically, the statues that comprise the Amoghapāśa maṇḍala are remarkably different from the bas-reliefs that encircle the temple. Those reliefs have often been described as having a "*wayang*-like" appearance because the flattening and abstraction of the human figures resembles that of traditional Javanese shadow-puppets (fig. 4.19). The background of the reliefs, filled with floral filigree, also recalls the delicate patterns of the shadow theater. The freestanding sculpture, in strong contrast, is much more naturalistic. The difference in styles led Brandes to assume that the images were imported from India



FIGURE 4.19. Narrative relief from Candi Jago, East Java, east side, first register, h 28 cm

or made by immigrant sculptors and their students.[28] Much more recently, in her dissertation on Candi Jago, Kathleen O'Brien notes the fine workmanship of the sculpture and writes, "Had Kṛtanagara (or a later patron) like his counterparts in the Tibetan and Yüan courts, also felt prompted to import Newari craftsman?"[29]

Other scholars who have studied the Jago statues have also been quick to point out its seeming affiliation with Pāla sculpture. A. J. Bernet Kempers writes, "Both the styles of these statues . . . and the Nāgarī inscriptions on their backings indicate a new influx of late Buddhist elements from the Pāla Empire of North-East India."[30] Jan Fontein, discussing one of the subsidiary figures, states, "The iconography and style of both statue and inscription suggest a last resurgence of influence from the Pāla kingdom, coming to fruition at a time when Buddhist art was already in full decline in India."[31]

An attempt to establish this connection between Northeast India and Java is made by J. A. Schoterman, who notes the close iconographical similarity between the Jago image and the previously described *Amoghapāśa sādhana* written by Śakyaśrībhadra (1127–1225).[32] According to Tibetan sources, Śakyaśrībhadra, who was born in Kaśmīr, visited Bodh Gayā, where he had a vision of Amoghapāśa and his companions. He then visited the Vikramaśīla Vihāra in Bihar, but had to flee the Muslim conquest further east to the Jagaddala Vihāra in Bangladesh. In 1204 he fled to Nepal and Tibet, where he stayed

until returning to Kaśmīr in 1213.[33] Schoterman suggests that during the exodus of Buddhist monks at the end of the thirteenth century, the *Amoghapāśa sādhana* was taken to Java, where it was used by sculptors there.[34] If this event did occur it would account for the iconographic similarities between the images and the *sādhana,* but not the "stylistic" connections that scholars have often mentioned.

Looking to Pāla sculpture of the late thirteenth century, though, it is difficult to find any images that closely match those at Jago. Examples of Amoghapāśa images in Susan Huntington's *The "Pāla-Sena" Schools of Sculpture* date from much earlier and include a ninth-century seated figure from Kurkihār.[35] It is difficult to compare this statue with the image at Jago, as the figure is seated and six-armed. Some other differences are also immediately evident: the antelope-skin sash, simple jewelry, and a floral pattern on the palms of the hands. A tenth-century standing Amoghapāśa also from Kurkihār is perhaps a better comparison.[36] Like the earlier Kurkihār example, it has six arms and wears an antelope skin. The straight stance of the image is similar to the Jago Amoghapāśa, though the kneecaps of the Pāla statue are prominently carved. The folds and flare of the lower garment emphasize the squatter and more curvaceous figure of the Pāla image. At seventy-six centimeters the statue is less than half the size of the Jago Amoghapāśa. The extra pair of arms on the Jago sculpture gives that image a busier appearance, and contrasts with the plain back slab. A twisted garland and flattened flame motif, in contrast, frame the stele of the Kurkihār image.[37] Two divine figures holding garlands float on either side of the top of the back slab, and small images of Śyāmatārā and Bhṛkuṭī stand to the right and left of Amoghapāśa.

Janice Leoshko discusses multiarmed forms of Avalokiteśvara found in Northeast India in her article "The Appearance of Amoghapāśa in Pāla Period Art." Interestingly, most of the Pāla-period images of Amoghapāśa have six arms, rather than eight, and do not iconographically correspond with any extant textual descriptions. Some of the seated six-armed versions have seven attributes, and seem to indicate a transition toward the eight-armed Amoghapāśa, or in the very least, as Leoshko writes, that the iconography of this deity "may have been in a state of flux."[38] In her study she found no eight-armed images of Amoghapāśa, a curious fact considering the popularity of the eight-armed god in areas outside India.

In her conclusion, Leoshko notes the regional and chronological limits on the production of multiple-armed Amoghapāśa images. The six-armed forms date mostly from the ninth century to the early tenth, while twelve-

armed forms date no later than the eleventh century. She draws some fascinating conclusions concerning the regional popularity of Amoghapāśa in the area around Gayā, an important *tīrtha* (pilgrimage) site, suggesting that Amoghapāśa's prominence in this region reflects the bodhisattva's ability to aid those in their dying hours, and in particular his salvation to *pretas* (hungry ghosts). By drawing the connection between Hindu *śrāddha* ceremonies and Buddhist concerns with *pretas,* Leoshko indirectly points to a mutual concern with ancestors between both communities.[39] In light of this, it seems fitting that in Java, where the tradition of ancestor worship was deeply ingrained, an image of Amoghapāśa was chosen as the commemorative statue of the king Wiṣṇuwardhana.

A. J. Bernet Kempers was one of the first scholars to carefully explore the connections between the Jago sculptures and Pāla art. He was acutely aware of the relations between Nālandā and Java as his dissertation studied a group of bronzes found at a monastery in Nālandā.[40] A copperplate found at the site, known as the Devapāladeva inscription of 851 CE, proved close interrelations between Indonesia and Nālandā.[41] This inscription is important not only because it establishes the political and religious links between the two regions, but also because it demonstrates the active involvement of Indonesians in promoting Buddhism in India. The copperplate records the Sumatran king Bālaputra's donation of revenues of several villages for the maintenance of a monastery, presumably to house Indonesian pilgrims. Bālaputra is referred to as a king of Suvarṇadwīpa and a descendant of the Śailendra kings in Java.[42] Because this copperplate was found close to a large number of bronze images, some earlier scholars had argued that the bronze pieces were of Javanese origin, but Bernet Kempers demonstrated that the uncovered horde was of Indic origin. He did emphasize throughout his dissertation that he thought there was "certain Pāla influence in Eastern Javanese art."[43]

In an article of 1933, Bernet Kempers presented two images with which to argue this affiliation.[44] The first was a Mongol-Tibetan sketch of Amoghapāśa and his attendants that was probably made by a Mongol artist in the early nineteenth century (fig. 4.20).[45] It shows an eight-armed Amoghapāśa who displays the same attributes as the Jago image, but carries them in different hands. His attendants also stand and carry attributes similar to their Javanese counterparts. Bernet Kempers contended that the appearance of this pantheon in both Tibet and Java points to the common roots of the pentad in the Maghada region of India. The second image illustrated by Bernet Kempers is an undated stone sculpture from Nālandā.[46] It shows the same



FIGURE 4.20. Amoghapāśa and his attendants; Tibeto-Mongol drawing from Urga, from Grünwedel, *Mythologie du Buddhisme au Tibet en Mongolie,* fig. 105

four attendants flanking the feet of a much larger central image. This figure, sadly, is now missing, but Bernet Kempers assumes that it can only depict Amoghapāśa.

Although Bernet Kempers does not mention it, Amoghapāśa is in fact not the only form of Avalokiteśvara that is accompanied by Śyāmatārā, Bhṛkuṭī, Hayagrīva, and Sudhanakumāra. The two-armed Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara was quite popular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Huntington provides many examples, at least three of which closely match the example shown by Bernet Kempers.[47] All of these images date from the late eleventh to the early twelfth century, and two of the three are also from Nālandā. The dating of these images does bring us a little closer to the sculptures from Jago, but stylistically they are perhaps even further away than the Kurkihār Amoghapāśas. Both images stand in a pronounced "thrice-bent" *(tribhaṅga)* posture. The fishtail pattern of the lower garment, as well as the sashes, belts, and jewelry, are quite different from the Jago image. Besides an *upavīta,* both figures wear a distinctive thick, twisted cloth that loops over their thighs. The steles are pointed and more elaborately decorated than those at Jago.

Both the style of the carving at Jago and the use of Nāgarī script in inscriptions do suggest connections with the Pāla dynasty in northeast India, but not necessarily thirteenth-century connections. The clear differences instead indicate a stylistic continuum from Central Javanese traditions. The Jago sculptures, while intricately ornamented, have nowhere near as much elaborate decoration as much Pāla statuary. The back slabs in particular are sparingly carved, with plain halos against a plain backdrop. Although the scope of Pāla sculpture is wide, one could generalize that the Jago figures are

generally posed in a stiffer stance, with less pronounced *tribhaṅga* than many Pāla images. The shoulders of the male figures are narrower, the breasts of females smaller, than their Pāla counterpoints. The central image Amoghapāśa, for instance, does not have the "elephant trunk" shoulders or the "cow's face" *(gomukha)*-shaped torso of many Pāla images.[48]

Interestingly, Huntington, the foremost scholar of Pāla-period art, proposes that direct Pāla influence on the art of Java "ceased, or at least dwindled to a mere trickle, by about the tenth century."[49] She suggests that the characteristics seen in East Javanese bronzes have no counterparts in Pāla statuary of that period. "Thus," she writes,

> it seems that Javanese metal images based on the Pāla style represent not only an early branch of the Pāla stylistic tree, but one that did not persist in any strength at all later, in spite of the fact that it is commonly claimed that Buddhist sculpture of the Singhasari dynasty of East Java (AD 1222–92) was influenced by Northeast India . . . and that there is other Northeast Indian influence in later Indonesian art.[50]

The use of the Nāgarī script (developed in northeast India in the eleventh–twelfth centuries) is the second factor that is often introduced when comparing the Jago sculptures and Pāla art. The earliest inscriptions in Indonesia were in a script derived from the South Indian Pallava script. From the middle of the eighth century onward a script known as Kawi, or Old Javanese, becomes predominant. While it shows some relation to earlier Pallava writing, it is most likely not directly developed from that script. During this period there is also evidence of use of a pre-Nāgarī script, similar but not identical to scripts used in North India. The use of this script in Java is limited to Buddhist sites, and is thought to be related to the spread of Mahāyāna Buddhism from sites in northeast India such as Nālandā.

In 1929, Stutterheim argued that the Nāgarī script used at Jago was newly introduced from northeast India and not a development from pre-Nāgarī.[51] J. G. de Casparis refutes this argument, noting that the script used at Jago has greater affinity to scripts used in thirteenth-century Gujarat than to those used in Bengal. It does have some significant characteristics that are similar to eighth- or ninth-century Pāla inscriptions, as well as the early Central Javanese Nāgarī inscriptions. He argues that "as this script apparently cannot be related to that of any contemporary or near-contemporary inscriptions in South Asia one wonders whether it ought not to be regarded as a continuation of the early Nāgarī script in Java."[52]

Although de Casparis acknowledges the arguments that new religious ideas

may have been entering Java from North India, he writes that such changes "do not necessarily entail similar influences." He continues:

> [T]here is evidence to show that a particular type of script may become closely identified with a national, regional or religious community and is then likely to last as long as the community continues to prosper. As there is no reason to assume that Mahāyāna Buddhism should ever have disappeared from Java between the end of the Śailendra period and the beginning the reign of Kṛtanagara (Buddhist iconography shows clear evidence for a continuous history in Java), it is also likely that the Nāgarī script in ancient Java should have remained in use in the intervening period.[53]

Both de Casparis and Huntington seem to indicate that although there may have been a new wave of religious ideas from northeast India, this does not necessarily mean that both the style of the statues and the inscription at Jago were influenced by contemporary Pāla models. In explaining the existence of Nāgarī inscriptions at Jago, de Casparis in fact looks back upon the long history of Buddhism in Java rather than India.

Can a similar continuity be found in Buddhist sculpture? It seems that in Java, unlike India, an eight-armed form of Avalokiteśvara was quite popular in the eighth to tenth centuries. Although there are no stone statues of the god from Central Java, museum and private collections contain several bronzes. Several images of eight-armed Avalokiteśvaras are depicted in Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer and Marijke J. Klokke's catalogue, *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes*.[54] One bronze is missing many of its attributes and thus cannot definitely be identified as Amoghapāśa. Its provenance is unknown, but it likely dates from the seventh or eighth century. A later image from the second half of the ninth to the early tenth century does have the same attributes as the Jago sculpture. Two more bronzes of Amoghapāśa are shown in a pamphlet illustrating the ethnological collection of the Natural History Museum of Vienna.[55] And at least two more can be found in the Museum Nasional in Jakarta. All of these images date from the Central Javanese period. Bronzes continued to be made in the early East Javanese period from the tenth to eleventh century, and although they are predominantly Buddhist, we do not find any images of Amoghapāśa.

Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer contends that there is "little or no stylistic similarity in ancient Javanese bronze and stone sculpture."[56] Indeed it is true that we have no existing bronze prototypes for stone sculptures or vice versa. Obviously, each medium has its own inherent restrictions — size, intricacy, pliability, and so on. It seems only logical that during the ninth century, when



FIGURE 4.21. Amoghapāśa, second half of ninth to early tenth century, Central Java, bronze, h 13.7 cm, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

we have clear epigraphic evidence of close ties between Nālandā and Indonesia, we can see stylistic connections in artwork. Looking at these Central Javanese bronze Amoghapāśas, one can see stylistic similarities with contemporary works from the Pāla dynasty. These are evident even when comparing, for instance, a ninth-century bronze (fig. 4.21) with the Kurkihār stone Amoghapāśa discussed earlier. The physique, headdress, and flaring lower garment are similar in both images. Yet neither image is particularly close to the Jago statue that dates three centuries later. Some other central Javanese bronzes do show characteristics closer to the Jago Amoghapāśa. The famous bronze Śiva Mahādeva from Tegal (ninth century) wears a similar pleated sarong.[57] His girdles and sashes as well as his tiger skin recall the Jago image.

In general it seems that there is little evidence of a new influx of artistic influences from the Pāla kingdom in the thirteenth century. As Huntington states, clear connections can be seen in the statuary of the two regions

during the Central Javanese period. The closest stylistic similarities between the sculpture of Java and that of the Pāla dynasty seem to occur at the peripheries of that kingdom, especially in Bangladesh.[58] Multiarmed images of Avalokiteśvara were also popular in Cambodia from the early tenth century. These images are different both stylistically and iconographically. The only examples that bear a noose have ten or more arms. The differences between Amoghapāśa images from India and Java illustrate that these ties grew more tenuous after the tenth century. Javanese sculptors selectively drew inspiration from South Asian religious subject matter, but the Javanese sculpture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is more closely affiliated with the style of earlier Indonesian statuary than with contemporaneous images from India.

Divine Kingship in Indonesia

Interestingly, the only other Indonesian stone image of Amoghapāśa that I know of is from Bali, not Java. It remains today in a closed shrine at the Pura Puseh in Kutri, central Bali. An old archaeological service photo (fig. 4.22) shows the image, whose face is severely damaged. The figure stands in a stiff stance against a plain stele, with a raised halo around the head. His dress and ornaments are elaborate: three bracelets around each wrist, numerous bows and sashes at his waist, and large pleats of fabric that fall by his knees then twist and fly upward to his hands. His attributes are slightly different from the Jago Amoghapāśa. Stutterheim identifies them as follows. On his left side from bottom to top he holds a *kamaṇḍalu* (vase), a missing attribute, a *śaṅkha* (conch), and a *padma* (lotus). On his right, his lower hand (broken) is in the *varada mudrā,* then *akṣamālā* (rosary), a *nāga* (snake), and an *angkuśa* (elephant prod). The conch seems to replace the book, and the *angkuśa,* the *abhaya mudrā.* Another difference is the *nāga,* which in Stutterheim's opinion becomes a *nāgapāśa* (snake noose).[59]

Stutterheim proposed that the image was a portrait of Dharmawangśa (Wiṣṇuwardhana), a Balinese ruler (1022–1026) known for his inscriptions.[60] Dharmawangśa was the older brother of Airlangga, the Balinese prince who married into Javanese royalty and eventually came to rule in East Java. As noted in the previous chapters, portraiture was not common in Indonesian stone sculpture. Thus the early identification of this image as a king is highly speculative. With this possibly eleventh-century image we see another example of the eight-armed Avalokiteśvara in Indonesia, one that may be quite a bit older than the Jago statue. Though there are too few Amoghapāśa images to trace any kind of stylistic development of the deity in Indonesia, the



FIGURE 4.22. Amoghapāśa, Pura Puseh, Kutri, Bali, h 79 cm

presence of as many images as do exist seems to indicate recurrent periods of popularity. If these sculptures of Amoghapāśa are associated with kings, the question remains whether either of these kings was considered divine during his lifetime.

The idea of divine kingship in Southeast Asia has been a topic of debate for decades, especially among scholars studying ancient Cambodia. George Coedès' extensive work on Khmer inscriptions led him to explore the notion that the kingdom was modeled upon a divine cosmology.[61] A series of inscriptions that seemed to describe a cult of the *devarāja* (god-king) was of particular interest. Coedès believed that beginning with the 802 CE consecration of Jayavarman II, the Khmer concept of divine kingship was intricately tied to a ceremony in which the essence of the king was instilled in a *liṅga* in a mountain temple at the center of the realm. He concluded that through such a ceremony the king was made divine and was considered a god in ancient Cambodia.[62]

Many scholars dispute this vision of ancient Khmer kingship and the *devarāja* cult. Herman Kulke thought that the cult was associated rather

with a portable divine image — like those found in parts of India.[63] In a similar vein Hiram Woodward made connections between the term and a holy ritual fire.[64] J. Filliozat argued convincingly that in parts of South India Śiva is known as "king of the gods" and that *devarāja* could mean "god of kings" or "king of gods."[65] In his opinion the *devarāja* cult was a cult of Śiva. I. W. Mabbett argued that scholars were perhaps taking literary hyperbole too seriously and that metaphors comparing the king to gods should not be taken literally.[66]

Nidhi Aeusrivongse has compared the Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions cited in earlier studies.[67] He concluded that the ambiguity in the concept of the *devarāja* was perhaps intentional. In his essays he sought to draw connections between ancestor worship and the *devarāja* cult and concluded that the king, while not seen as divine, was most likely seen as a bond between the ancestors and the community — a link between sacred and mundane realms. Aeusrivongse's ideas are helpful when looking at ancient Indonesian concepts of kingship (and in fact he uses data from Java and Bali in his argument).

The concept of divine kingship in Indonesia did not spring from inscriptions describing the *devarāja.* Instead, the idea originated in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* and the *Pararaton,* which describe the erection of *candis* containing posthumous statues of gods associated with the kings and queens of the Singasari and Majapahit courts. As previously discussed, these descriptions led scholars to believe that royalty was deified.

The position of the king is described in detail in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,* and while it does describe Hayam Wuruk as an avatar of Sri Girinatha (the lord of the mountains or Śiva), it also illustrates the king's role as a connection between heaven and earth. According to Clifford Geertz, within the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* "[t]he basic principle of Indonesian statecraft — that the court should be a copy of the cosmos and the realm a copy of the court, with the king, liminally suspended between gods and men, the mediating image in both directions — is laid out in almost diagrammable form."[68]

We have learned from the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* that Amoghapāśa was chosen as the commemorative statue for Wiṣṇuwardhana at Candi Jago and that a Śaivite statue was erected for the king at another site. In these texts the temple seems to have a dual function as an abode for both a deity and a deceased king. W. F. Stutterheim's 1931 essay, "The Meaning of the Hindu-Javanese Candi," reevaluated the role of the temple in Java.[69] He proposed that the Javanese *candi* should not be seen as a house of a god but as a tomb in which the ashes of a deceased ruler were placed and above which a statue of that ruler in the guise of a god was erected. From as early as Raffles' tenure in Indonesia (1815),

scholars had posited that *candi* were the places where the ashes of royal family members were kept.[70] These arguments were bouyed by the discovery of reliquary urns found at several temple sites in Java (Loro Jonggrang, Jolotundo, Candi Ijo, etc.)

Stutterheim also observed that bodies of sculpted figures became increasingly stiff and frontally oriented, mummylike in appearance.[71] The statues were no longer easily identifiable because the attributes they held began to deviate from Indian prototypes.[72] He interpreted both these factors to indicate that the sculptures depicted dead kings and queens. Through the examination of indigenous funerary beliefs, Stutterheim noted the common practice of a second burial. In many of these ceremonies, especially among the Dayak, Tengger, and Balinese, images of the deceased were constructed.[73] He concluded that in ancient Java, statues were created during *śrāddha* ceremonies in which the soul of the dead attained final liberation. The statue remained as a place where the descendants and subjects of the king could make contact with the ancestors when their spirits descended into the statue. Stutterheim argued that temples were the sites of second burials and were thus more strongly associated with ancestor cults than with Hindu or Buddhist deities.

Many parts of Stutterheim's arguments are convincing, especially his emphasis on the importance of ancestor cults in the religions of ancient Indonesia. But later scholars questioned his assertion that all *candi* were royal mausolea. F. D. K. Bosch analyzed the references to temples in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* and found that only a small percentage were associated with royal commemorations.[74] R. Soekmono has argued convincingly against a main tenet of Stutterheim's theory that human ashes were buried in temples. In his 1974 dissertation Soekmono reinvestigated the literary epigraphic and archaeological evidence of the funerary functions of *candi*.[75] He cites passages from three late Old Javanese texts, the *Harsawijaya,* the *Rangga Lawe,* and the *Kidung Sunda,* all of which describe ashes of the deceased being washed away in the sea.[76] He documents the fact that ashes are not present in all *candi,* that the ashes found have never been determined to be human, and that excavated reliquary boxes perhaps relate to nonfunerary traditions.

Soekmono pointed to the discovery of similar boxes on mainland Southeast Asia, which had been discussed earlier by Stanley O'Connor.[77] The boxes of both mainland and island Southeast Asia sometimes contained ashes but also images in gold repoussé, seeds, and gems, and occasionally symbols of the eight *dikpāla* (directional guardians). The deposits were sometimes found at the corners and middle of the temple. This positioning led both O'Connor and Soekmono to conclude that these boxes were associated with some type of

ritual deposit that would ensure the prosperity of the building, such as those described in ancient Indian texts.[78]

If temples in Indonesia were not mausolea, what was the relationship between statue and temple? In India, images of royalty as patrons are sometimes seen in temples, but statues of patrons and gods are rarely combined. In East Java, many statues were thought to be kings or queens in the guise of gods. This interpretation was based partly on the way the statues were described in such texts as the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* and the *Pararaton*. Part of the confusion with understanding the role of the statue is a result of not knowing exactly what is meant by a number of Old Javanese words used frequently in ancient texts.

Soekmono points out two words that seem to be used interchangeably to refer to the edifices that we today consider temples.[79] The first term, *candi,* is the same word commonly used in Java today for any pre-Islamic edifice. One theory for the derivation of the word *candi* is from Cundā, a form of the Hindu goddess Durgā, who is associated with death.[80] Other scholars believe the term comes from the Sanskrit *caitya*. In ancient literature, though, the word *candi* is used in many ways, often metaphorically, to allude to something that is beautiful and well constructed, including poetry. A second term, *dharma,* is also used to denote a temple, and is perhaps even more common in literature. The term *dhinarma* was also used, and interpreted by the Dutch to mean interment, or the placing of royal ashes in a temple. A third term, *pratiṣṭhā,* meaning "abode" or "establishment," also referred to temples, but at times also referred to the statues within them.[81]

Many other words for temple were used in ancient inscriptions, including *sthāna, mandira, bhawana, gṛha, caitya, prāsāda, parhyangan,* etc.[82] Soekmono notes that literary sources mention cremations as well as the erection of statues in temples, but there is no mention of the interment of ashes. In ancient texts the names of deceased kings or queens are often mentioned along with the place of death. Posthumous names seem to be associated with a specific god, a designated date, and a certain site, or *dharmma*. An example from the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* describes the death of Wiṣṇuwardhana:

> In Śaka-year "air-nine-earth-earth" (1190, AD 1268), Lord Wiṣṇu returned to heaven, having died
> He was enshrined at Waleri as a Śaiwa image, and as a Buddhist one at Jajaghu.[83]

Various terms are also used for the statue of the god erected. *Arca,* a word that still today means "statue" or "image," is used quite often. According to

Pigeaud, *pratiṣṭhā,* a word meaning "abode," "always refers to a consecrated statue of a god or goddess with whom a King or Queen is identified." A third term, *pratimā,* is also encountered; Pigeaud translates it as statuette, or image. And finally *wimba,* or "shape," is used, often in conjunction with *arca,* but sometimes alone.[84]

What does it mean to be enshrined as a statue of a god? Were all temples associated with both gods and rulers? Did they function as temple and cenotaph simultaneously? An examination of ancient texts that contain descriptions of temples gives us an idea of their many functions.[85] Some visitors came to wander amongst ruins, others to "read" narrative reliefs, and yet others to worship and attend temple ceremonies.

Unfortunately, even in the fourteenth century it seems that many temples were already in ruins. The *Śiwarātrikalpa* contains a powerful description:

> A great temple-complex from ancient times rose near a mountain stream, and the path there was lonely.
> The curved trunks of the water-elephants had fallen and crumbled, and for lack of care its wall had almost tumbled down.
> The monster-heads seemed to be weeping as their covered faces were overgrown with a profusion of creepers,
> And as though sad and weary the temple-guardians were lying rolled over flat on the ground.
>
> The pavilions in its courtyard were in ruins; some of the buildings were now only wreckage, while other were rotting away;
> Their roofs were broken and had fallen in, and beyond repair their pillars stood askew, swaying back and forth.
> Heart-rending was the spectacle of the reliefs; young maidens were standing gazing skywards,
> As if proclaiming their grief at being abandoned and no more visited by wandering poets.
>
> The tower-temple soared on high, and its pinnacles served as a gathering-place for weeds;
> The sides were cracked, overgrown by a shady fig-tree which spread luxuriantly.
> All the subordinate figures were cracked by a fearsome tangle of vines,
> And only the main deity within was immovable in place, standing firm in the center of its pedestal.[86]

This wonderfully evocative passage illustrates that, much like today, visitors enjoyed the romanticism of the abandoned temple. In this case, it is a structure that does not seem to have royal connections.

In the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,* Mpu Prapañca describes several visits by King Hayam Wuruk to temples in East Java. In one episode the king reads the narrative reliefs as he wanders around a temple complex.[87] Canto 36 describes a quite different experience:

> [A]t an auspicious time he [the king] left Singhasāri and went south to Kagenengan,
> To offer devotion to the lord of the sanctuary, with all his various groups of people following.
> Money, refreshments and food accompanied his flower-offerings with all the proper requisites,
> As well as clothing carried on poles preceded by drums — the people who saw it were delighted.
> When he had completed his worship he came outside and was surrounded by his subjects who came before him in order.[88]

Later in the text the temple is described again:

> The tower-temple in the centre seems amazingly fitting, other-worldly and as tall
> As Mount Meru, a Śaiwa sanctuary with an image of Śiwa within.
> The reason why Lord Girināthaputra [Śiva] serves as chosen deity in visible form
> Is his relation as ancestor to the King, being an object of reverence for the whole world.[89]

These passages give us some idea of the different ways in which temples were used, at least by the upper classes. Another text, the twelfth-century old Javanese poem *(kakawin) Sumanasāntaka,* describes the enshrinement of a king and queen as a statue of Ardhanārīśvara.[90] The children of the royal couple worship at the image "in order to promote the welfare of the world." When the daughter must leave to marry she "tearfully embraced the base of the statue and lamented her departure." The text describes her "regret that her parents were deceased and only manifest as *'hyang.'* Nevertheless, she prays that her grief is heard and that they know she is leaving with the appeal that they will continue to watch over and protect her wherever she should go."[91] The term *hyang* is often used as an honorific before the name of a divinity, but it also has the more general meaning of "sacred" or "spiritual."[92] Thus it

seems that the daughter does not see the image of the deity as an image of her parents, but does feel her parents' spirit in the statue.

It seems clear that during the Kaḍiri through Majapahit periods (tenth–fifteenth centuries) some temples were used for ancestor worship as well as the worship of Hindu or Buddhist deities.[93] Texts sometimes make it sound as if royal apotheosis occurs, but many scholars point out that this is unlikely. According to Kulke, "It is obviously one of the gravest errors in the discussion of the devarāja cult, and the question of divinization of rulers in general, to perceive in the attempt to achieve salvation in a particular god (perhaps by the erection of a statue of oneself in the likeness of the god, a 'portrait sculpture') a process of direct divination of the one striving after salvation."[94]

Although the line between commemoration and veneration may seem thin, living kings were not considered gods. Anyone exploring the issue of royal apotheosis in ancient Java needs to remember the importance of ancestors as the link between this world and the next. The relationship between the living and the dead was reciprocal: the ancestors depended on rituals (such as *śrāddha*) in order to leave this world, while the living required the mediation of the ancestors to bring them fortune. Literary evidence suggests that while a ruler might posthumously be united with a god, kings and queens were not considered divine during their lifetimes.

The Bronze Plaques of Amoghapāśa

We can assume, then, that Kṛtanagara erected the statues at Jago as a commemoration for his father, whom he believed had, after death, become one with Amoghapāśa. He also commissioned at least five small (22 cm) bronze plaques depicting Amoghapāśa and his attendants (see fig. 4.16).[95] These plaques are unusual for several reasons. Although bronze statuettes of gods were actively produced in East Java in the tenth and eleventh centuries, by the twelfth century the manufacture of such images had ceased.[96] While ritual objects were still being made, we have no records of freestanding bronze images of deities from this period. Of course, these plaques are not freestanding images; they are closer to votive tablets. The fact that several nearly identical copies have been found indicates that they were made from a mold.[97] In Central Java bronze molds for clay votive tablets have been found, but they are not known in East Java.[98] Clearly, the use of bronze indicates that these were not made as mementos for the average pilgrim. Unfortunately, the provenance of all of the plaques is not known, but at least two were found in the region near Candi Jago.

The bronzes closely resemble the previously mentioned larger stone conglomerate image, though the deities are configured slightly differently to fit into the back slab that forms a single arch. An advantage of the plaque over the stone images of Amoghapāśa is that although small, it has not borne the damage of the other sculptures. All of the figure's attributes are intact, and for the most part fit the description given in the Śakyaśrībhadra's *sādhana.* One exception is the object held in Amoghapāśa's second highest left hand. The *sādhana* describes it as a *tridaṇḍī,* but in the bronze it appears like a *vajra.*[99] This substitution does not seem to be a mistake on the part of the sculptors because the freestanding image of Bhṛkuṭī does carry a *tridaṇḍī. Vajras* can also be seen as a buckle for the chest cord of the figure, an ornament not seen in the two stone sculptures. Amoghapāśa stands on a lotus pedestal, while his attendants stand directly on the larger double-lotus socle of the statue.

The back of each of the bronzes is inscribed with twelve to thirteen lines of Sanskrit in Nāgarī script (fig. 4.23).[100] The inscriptions are not identical, but they do contain largely the same wording, with slight spelling deviations. Unfortunately, being largely formulaic, they do not provide much information. The inscription begins with what is sometimes called the Buddhist creed, or the "ye dharma" strophe.[101] The name of the donor Kṛtanagara is mentioned along with his desire that any merit accrued be for the attaining of supreme knowledge for all beings, beginning with his parents and teachers. This donative phrase is a commonly used expression in Mahāyāna inscriptions.[102] De Casparis suggests that in some cases the slight differences between inscriptions and errors within them might have arisen because they were engraved by the bronze caster instead of a professional scribe.[103] The Nāgarī script and formulaic Sanskrit language used in the inscriptions put them into a long tradition of images produced for religious merit. The Buddhist creed was incised on the pedestals of bronzes in both Central and Eastern Java.[104] What sets the Amoghapāśa bronzes apart is their duplication in a relatively expensive material. Along with the inscription, the medium of these plaques itself emphasizes the generosity of the donor.

In the case of the production of both the freestanding statues of Jago and the bronze plaques, we can see Kṛtanagara's combined quest for religious merit and a desire to transfer that merit to his parents. An expression of this type of filial respect is found in many Buddhist dedicatory inscriptions and can be seen to reflect indigenous practices of ancestor worship. Such filial concerns were by no means limited to Indonesia. Gregory Schopen writes that donative inscriptions from India "prove that concern for the 'well-being' of both



FIGURE 4.23. Amoghapāśa plaque, inscription on back of figure 4.16

deceased and living parents was a major preoccupation of Buddhist donors in India; that one of the most frequently stated reasons for undertaking acts of religious giving was to benefit the donors' parents, both living and dead; and that this concern was both very old and very widespread in India."[105]

In Indonesian inscriptions we can find many variations on the donative phrase. Sometimes accrued merit is to be spread among all creatures, sometimes it is for the donor's parents and all sentient beings, and sometimes it is for the welfare of the king, his parents, and the world.[106] Evident within the inscriptions, and perhaps evidenced by the existence of the inscription, is the desire for the perpetual accumulation of merit. Once again Schopen writes eloquently on the manner in which meritorious acts such as the commissioning of a *candi,* a statue, or a bronze plaque were meant to disseminate merit in perpetuity.

> It is true that, on one level, the laymen and monks who made these gifts were giving objects, but because these objects were of a specific kind, they were actually giving more than mere objects: they were giving objects of worship, objects that, it fact, made worship possible. They were, then, really giving to any of their fellow beings who ritually approached these objects both the means and the opportunity to make merit; they were providing for all both the means and the opportunity to further their religious lives. But this would also seem to suggest that the initial gift of the actual object only marked the first moment in the donor's act of giving. Each time the object was approached, he or the persons to whom he transferred his act of giving was to be credited with having provided an additional opportunity for someone else to make merit. Each opportunity was a separate act of giving. The donor's act of giving and its consequent merit, then, were continually repeated over time in every act of worship directed toward the object he provided.[107]

This type of act is thus the supreme act of filial piety, perpetuated far beyond the donor's own lifetime.

The Sumatran Image of Amoghapāśa

Kṛtanagara's commissioning of the sculptures of Amoghapāśa was one way to provide for his ancestors, and the choice of Amoghapāśa, a deity associated with salvation, perhaps facilitated his father's smooth transition into the afterlife. Why, though, would a king named Viśvarūpakumāra, under the behest of Kṛtanagara, commission a stone copy of the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* and make the tremendous effort of shipping it all the way to Sumatra, a distance of almost two thousand kilometers? The image is heavy and large, over 1.6 meters high, not including the substantial base (fig. 4.24). The inscription on the base, discussed earlier, states that the statue was sent in 1286 for the enjoyment of the people of Malāyu and their king. It is known from the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* that eleven years earlier Kṛtanagara had sent a military force to Malāyu (presumed to be the region of southern Sumatra near present-day Jambi).[108] Kṛtanagara was victorious, and, according to the text, "[t]he whole territories of Pahang and Malāyu bowed humbly before him."[109] Kṛtanagara's military expedition to Malāyu may have been a response to the expansionist policies of Khubilai Khan. Between 1257 and 1274 CE the Mongols had attacked Vietnam, the Southern Sung, Burma, and Japan.[110] Kṛtanagara's move into the Straits of Melaka could have been an effort to shore up power; later,



FIGURE 4.24. Amoghapāśa (same as figure 4.14), Rambahan, West Sumatra, now in Museum Nasional Indonesia

in 1284, he sent forces to subjugate Bali. These expeditions were the beginning of a long period of extension and annexation for the East Javanese kingdoms; the expansion of the realm would reach its limits under Hayam Wuruk in the Majapahit dynasty.

Among the several theories explaining why Kṛtanagara sent the Amoghapāśa image to Sumatra, the earliest proposed that the statue somehow commemorates Kṛtanagara's victory over Malāyu during his 1275 military expedition. But recently scholars have come to see that expedition less as a military excursion and more as an attempt to forge an alliance with Malāyu either against Śrīvijaya or against the Mongols. The transfer of the bodhisattva sculpture years later could be seen as an effort to cement that bond.[111] Stutterheim suggested a similar idea, but also proposed that the statue was sent to commemorate the marriage of one of Kṛtanagara's brothers with a Malāyu princess, thus forming a marriage alliance between realms.[112]

In theory, though, even if Kṛtanagara did win suzerainty over Malāyu by military force, the relationship between the two realms may have appeared (at least officially) friendly. Many scholars have described the political nexus of ancient Java as consisting of overlapping circles of power.[113] Within the circle of one king could be several lesser sovereigns.

> In a sense, the king must let conquered rulers keep their thrones, since only as a king of kings is he a world monarch. — We cannot emphasize strongly enough how important in the actual history of Southeast Asian polities has been this pattern of over-rule and conversion to the dhamma of the conquered rulers of subjected peoples. This conversion is coextensive with the process of political expansion by monarchs or of political unification, which is more an embracing of diversity around a center than a centralization of power itself. [114]

To understand how the composite sculpture of Amoghapāśa and his attendants might fit into a context of expansionist politics rather than into the context of ancestor worship, one must look again more closely at the image itself. Although in many ways the sculpture is identical to the freestanding sculptures at Jago, there are some differences. The large rectangular base of the sculpture is neatly carved with four lines of Kawi script. It was found in the village of Rambahan several kilometers away from the stele, suggesting that the statue was in the process of being moved. The stele itself fits neatly into the base and rises in an arch. Rising out of this arch is a higher and narrower arch that frames the aureole of the head of the central figure.

The stele also extends forward, jutting out to form a shelf that constitutes

the base of the stele. Amoghapāśa and his attendants stand on three flat lotuses on this shelf. Śyāmatārā and Sudhanakumāra stand to the bodhisattva's right, Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva to his left (figs. 4.25, 4.26). Both pairs lean back and look up at Amoghapāśa. Before their feet there is another inscription, much more worn, and, to my knowledge, as yet untranslated. Along the front of the base are seven small carvings depicted in relief and separated by lotus plants shown growing from roots. The carvings represent, from left to right, a horse, a wheel of the law *(dharmacakra),* a queen, a wish-granting jewel *(cintāmanī),* a minister, a general, and an elephant (figs. 4.27, 4.28).

The combination of these seven figures is known from Indian iconography as the seven jewels *(saptaratna)* of the world ruler *(cakravartin.)* They can be found in Indian art from as early as the first century BCE in a relief from Jaggayyapeta, Andhra Pradesh.[115] While these early images also include the depiction of a king, in India, Burma, and Tibet one finds representations of the *saptaratna* in conjunction with the historical Buddha. In some *Māravijaya* images, the seated Buddha is surrounded by seven scenes from his life.[116] The *saptaratna* are depicted in relief in a row along the lowest register of the stele, in a manner similar to the Amoghapāśa sculpture.[117] The term *cakravartin* (literally, wheel-ruler) is considered an appropriate epithet for the Buddha, whose universal teachings set in motion the wheel of the law.

In Tibetan and Nepalese painting, the *saptaratna* are often found in the register under the portraits of a variety of Buddhist deities, including bodhisattvas such as Amoghapāśa.[118] In a fourteenth-century Nepalese painting the god's connection with the afterlife is also emphasized by the depiction of scenes of hell surrounding the central image. The representation of the *saptaratna* at the bottom of the Amoghapāśa sculpture refers to the bodhisattva's status. According to Buddhist thought, the historical Buddha was born into a royal family and predestined to be either a great ruler or a great teacher. Part of the path to enlightenment for all beings involves the renunciation of political power in favor of spiritual self-mastery. In the case of the Sumatran Amoghapāśa, the depiction of the deity is also a reference to Kṛtanagara's father, Wiṣṇuwardhana (who was posthumously associated with the deity). Thus the seven jewels legitimize both the king and the bodhisattva.

In his lecture "The Buddhist Conception of Universal King and Its Manifestations in South and Southeast Asia," Stanley Tambiah explores the way in which the *cakravartin* ideal became an important part of the notion of kingship.[119] Essential to his study is the pairing of the figures of the Buddha and the *cakravartin,* the two *mahāpuruṣa* (great men). Both figures are born with the same thirty-two auspicious marks, are called similar epithets during their



FIGURE 4.25. Śyāmatārā and Sudhanakumāra, detail of figure 4.24



FIGURE 4.26. Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva, detail of figure 4.24

lifetimes, and at the end of their lives merit the same mortuary rites. Tambiah plots the "career of the paradigmatic cakravartin" through three stages: the attainment of universal sovereignty, the endowment of works of merit, and the final renunciation of power.[120] Throughout both inscriptions and texts from ancient Java we see concern with the second stage of this process. The realm's prosperity is dependent on the good deeds of the sovereign, and in turn the prestige of the king is bolstered by his efforts. Prapañca writes in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama:*

> The king's rule over the land of Java having grown firmer and firmer, victorious over the other regions,
> It is there in Majapahit that he receives homage, bringing about the welfare of the world.
> In vast numbers he has created rest-houses, pious foundations and temples, to bring happiness to others,



FIGURE 4.27. *Saptaratna,* proper right, detail of figure 4.24



FIGURE 4.28. *Saptaratna,* proper left, detail of figure 4.24

> And officials, priests and scholars are the ones given the authority to join in performing meritorious acts in the world.[121]

Indeed, Prapañca also relates the efforts of other members of court and society to emulate the king.

> All the officials, having obtained a boon, are given freeholds and strive to outdo each other:
> It is memorial shrines and tower-temples that they make, as well as linggas and so on the whole time.
> Devoted to the gods, devoted to the host of ancestral spirits and equally respectful to the worthy sages,
> They perform deeds of charity, meritorious acts and good works, following his Majesty's example.[122]

The king both accrued and dispersed the most merit, and by doing so kept order in his realm. Michael Aung-Thwin, commenting on the status of the king in Burma, notes that with so much merit to share "one could see how close the king was to being a person who could provide salvation for the average man, that is, to being a bodhisattva."[123]

The notion of king as bodhisattva is implied in a Sanskrit inscription from Candi Plaosan (early ninth century). The final strophe states the wish for the transference of merit: "May man by the merit which I acquired by constructing (?) this (temple) pure as the disc of the moon, participate in the acts of a Jina."[124] The text goes on to make a somewhat unusual plea: "Protect us, king of the supreme kings of Varanara, against the impurity of wrong views; may not the men be bound to passion."[125] De Casparis notes that such a plea is usually addressed to a Bodhisattva, but in this case is directed to a king. Thus it "is probably an invocation addressed to the same Bhūjayottuṅgadeva [the king], conceived of as a Bodhisattva-Cakravartin."[126]

Looking again at the inscription on the base of the Amoghapāśa sculpture that was sent to Sumatra also yields clues about its function. According to Stutterheim the inscription is not Old Javanese, as Krom asserted, but instead a lightly Javanized Malay.[127] Not only is the language Malay, but all grammatical forms and figures are pure Malay.[128] This is unusual, because except for a few Malay inscriptions from the seventh century, almost all inscriptions after that point are in Sanskrit or Old Javanese. The notable exceptions come from inscriptions found in northern Sumatra from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[129] But the Amoghapāśa inscription cannot be considered "purely" Malay in content. The first five lines of the text establish the

date through a series of complex astronomical descriptions. Included in this part of the inscription is the name of the day of the week in the three commonly used Javanese weeks — overlapping five-, six-, and seven-day cycles. The days of the five- and six-day weeks are not commonly used in areas outside of Java.[130] Therefore, although the language of the inscription is designed for a Malay audience, its Javanese origin is evident in the dating. The inscription reveals a larger political motivation: it is written in Malay not only in an effort to aid a larger Sumatran community to gain enlightenment, but also to tell that audience who exactly is helping them along that path.

Ādityawarman's Appropriation of Amoghapāśa

We do not know how the Amoghapāśa statue was received in Malāyu in 1286, but we do know that sixty years later it was reconsecrated by King Ādityawarman. In Śaka 1269 (1347 CE) he inscribed the twenty-seven lines on the back of the stele (fig. 4.29). Unlike the inscription of 1286, this one is written in language that is much more difficult to understand. Hendrik Kern first attempted a translation in 1907. He writes:

> The poet — for the inscription is in verse — has no conception of the significance of cases, also does not knows the simple rules of word compatibility, and is greatly confused with spelling so that his artwork, though the meter is flawless, is little better than gibberish. Moreover there are also mistakes committed by the engraver of the inscription. The result is that the reading is in many places uncertain and a orderly translation is impossible. Because there are no grammatical relationships to discover in the wording, one must guess the intention of the poet and then there is still so much that is so obscure that one does not even risk losing oneself in conjecture.[131]

After such an introduction it is a wonder that Kern does make some sense out of the inscription, which is written in an "impossible" Sanskrit. B. R. Chatterjee also translated the inscription into English, but his work, as well as commentary, relies heavily on Kern's earlier efforts.[132]

The inscription begins with a lengthy praise for King Ādityawarman, emphasizing his religious faith, knowledge, and magnanimity. Next comes a line of commendation for his minister, Dewa Tuhan Prapatih. This accolade is followed by a passage that describes the Amoghapāśa image:

pratisthoyaṁ aṁ Sugāṭānāṁ, ācāryyan Dharmmasekaraḥ
nāmnā Gagaṇagañjasya, Mañjuçrīr iva sauhṛdi



FIGURE 4.29. Ādityavarman's inscription, detail of figure 4.24

pratisthoyaṁ hitātvāya, sarvvasattvāsukāçraya
Devair Amoghapāsesaḥ, çrimad Ādityavarmmaṇaḥ[133]

The verse describes the consecration by Achayra Dharmasekhara of a Buddha image under the name Gagaṇagañja. This statue of Amoghapāśa is a gift of Ādityawarman and consecrated for the benefit of all beings.

Kern understands Gagaṇagañja to be an epithet for Amoghapāśa, and clearly the text equates the two names. I have found no other examples of connections between Amoghapāśa and Gagaṇagañja. In most Buddhist iconographies Gagaṇagañja is described as a bodhisattva, but not as a form of Avalokiteśvara. B. Bhattacharyya gives descriptions of Gagaṇagañja from the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and three *maṇḍalas,* the *Mañjuvajra maṇḍala,* the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara maṇḍala,* and the *Durgatiparīsodhana maṇḍala.*[134]

Marie Thérèse de Mallmann also notes Gaganagañja's appearance in the *Vajradhātu* and *Mahāvairocana maṇḍalas*.[135] Of the three descriptions given by Bhattacharyya, none match the eight-armed Amoghapāśa. He also mentions a form of Avalokiteśvara known in Nepal as Gaganagañja Lokeśvara, but this deity is described as two-armed and as sitting on a lotus and holding a book while displaying the *vitarka mudrā*.[136]

The inscription continues, giving the date in which "the old becomes restored," which Kern presumes to mean the restoration or construction of a new foundation for a building for those on the path to enlightenment. Could it perhaps mean an old image is reconsecrated? What follows is perhaps the most confusing, and intriguing, part of the inscription. I quote from F. M. Schnitger, who presumably translates from Kern:

> In the golden halls, beautified with birds and elephants, saturated with fragrant perfume of the forest, graced by celestial nymphs, where the pools are frequented by Matanginiça and Asuras, the lord of all Daityas, gods and Widyadharas enjoys abundant gaiety, haha! Inspired to dance by the murmuring bees, lovely Matanginiça sways in lively, continuous rythm *[sic]*. He, disperser of ennui in Matangini, who diverts himself in lively fashion with the hosts of Haha and Huhu, suddenly lays aside his Jina form and descends to earth, to serve the world, fair as the moon in a favorable constellation; graced by the goodness of his heart, under the name of Udayawarmmagupta, predecesor *[sic]* of all terrestial *[sic]* rulers. . . . This image standing in the middle of the bajraprakara of the jinalaya, is the illustrious Amoghapaçaça, fair as the rising sun.[137]

It is hard to know what to make of this. Kern interprets Matanginiça and Mātaṅginī to signify Amoghapāśa and his *śakti* (female consort), while Schnitger reads the figures to be two dancing elephants.[138] Hindu texts tell us that Mātaṅginī is a goddess who is known as one of the ten *mahāvidyās* (a group of ten Hindu goddesses). She is "the incarnation of emotional frenzy. Her complexion is dark, her eyes roll in her head; drunken and reeling with desire she stumbles like a furious elephant. For she is the phase where the world falls under the intoxication of mantra, Tantra and the longing for unity with Śiva."[139] P. H. Pott describes Mātaṅginī as one of the eight "bhairavis of the holy cemeteries," and interprets the inscription to be a description of the initiation of Ādityawarman himself as a bhairava.[140]

Festivals for the goddess Mātaṅginī can be found in South India today with the goddess played by a low-caste woman. David Kinsley gives an account of the behavior of the woman during such a festival:

> Possessed by the goddess, she will dance wildly, use obscene language, drink intoxicants, spit on spectators, and push people around with her backside. . . . Festivals provide a context for the breaking out of the context of confining social roles, for the breaking up and mixing up of expected social relations. The Mātaṅginī drastically acts out this liminal facet of the village-goddess festival and makes it clear that it is the goddess herself who incites and arouses her devotees to this invigorating frenzy. Having been aroused herself by the encounter with a demon/husband/consort, she in turn arouses the entire village, and together they are renewed and renourished. Villagers say that in the topsy-turvy context of the festival, where reversals are dominant, the outrageous behavior of the Mātaṅginī, ordinarily highly polluting, is purifying.[141]

Such a festival seems to have little in common with the rather modest scene described in the inscription. But several authors have argued that descriptions like this can have veiled meanings, and that texts that on one level seem to describe quite simple events can actually allude to tantric ceremonies. De Casparis' previously discussed translation of an inscription found on the Ratu Boko plateau uses double entendres to describe both a terrific manifestation of Śiva and an ascetic king meditating. [142] Likewise, another "innocuous" inscription of Ādityawarman's (discussed in chapter 6) has been interpreted to allude to a terrifying consecration ceremony in a cemetery.

The second half of Ādityawarman's inscription refers to Mātagiṅīśa, who lays aside his Jina form and descends to earth, to serve the world as Udayawarmmagupta (presumably another name for Ādityawarman). The text suggests that Ādityawarman is an avatar of the god, and again seems to indicate that Mātagiṅīśa is a type of bodhisattva, most likely Amoghapāśa. This connection is perhaps hinted at again when Amoghapāśa is described as being fair as the rising sun; the first part of Ādityawarman, *aditya,* means sun. The inscription on the back of the Amoghapāśa statue indicates that the reconsecration of the bodhisattva image was an important ceremonial event. The statue, with its origin in Java, had special significance for Ādityawarman, who is thought to have spent his youth at the Majapahit court. An inscription from a Mañjuśrī sculpture found at Candi Jago indicates that Ādityawarman may have even been responsible for the renovation of the temple, where the original Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* was enshrined. The erection of the composite statue in his realm in Sumatra must have validated his rule by not only associating the king with the deity but also tying his kingship to a long dynastic history.

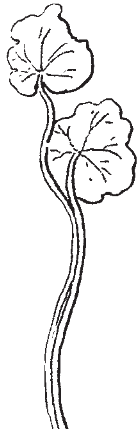
In mainland Southeast Asia, especially Thailand, images of buddhas were also means of legitimizing the reign of rulers. "Possession of certain Buddha statues (and relics), rather than kinship, was interpreted as conferring legitimacy and power to kings and rulers, because these statues were treated as the palladia of their kingdoms and principalities."[143] Stanley Tambiah has written extensively on this subject, and it is tempting to see some parallels in the travels of the Amoghapāśa image to the Buddha statues that he discusses. The simultaneous quests for merit and legitimacy are common themes among the Buddhist kings of both mainland and island Southeast Asia. Tambiah writes:

> Individuals of personal charisma who assumed kingship found, among other things, two more or less enduring bases for claiming legitimacy and, through it, stability of power. One was the claim to being a cakkavatti [chakravartin] or a dharmaraja on the basis of personal achievements and commitment to Buddhist norms of kingship. These positions, according to Buddhists, are not so much inherited as proven by individual karma and meritorious conduct. Though they cannot be inherited, those attaining them can claim to be incarnations and avatars of archetypal heroes.
>
> A second basis, linked to the first, is the possession of palladia and regalia that are enduring sedimentations or objectifications of power and virtue. Possession of them is a guarantee of legitimacy, and these embodiments of virtue and power will remain with the possessor for as long as he is deserving. They cannot be removed from their locations against their consent; their travels are evidence of their passage from one deserving ruler to another.[144]

In Indonesia we have no records of Buddha images used as palladia of the realm in quite the same manner as in Thailand. We do see in the case of the Amoghapāśa sculptures, the duplication of an image for a combination of reasons: filial respect, religious merit, and political power. At least one of these images also traveled, and in doing so its meanings accumulated along with the merit accrued. With the production or the consecration of each image, a king tried to affiliate himself with the bodhisattva by tracing a line of descent or even claiming to be an avatar. A king was considered human while on earth, and then thought to posthumously unite with a deity. Thus a statue could serve as a symbol of the ruler's power, piety, and legitimacy.

The power of these images lasted long after the kings were gone. Speyer records that in the early twentieth century, the "musselmen" still felt holy diffidence before the Amoghapāśa at Candi Jago.[145] As with the previously

discussed images of Joko Dolok and Prajñāpāramitā, this image also retained its sacred nature, even in a different religious context. It, as well as many other antiquities, is considered a *pusaka,* an object with extraordinary spiritual power. Buddhist images of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were used to emphasize the power and legitimacy of the regime, and today the government still uses sculptures and monuments to promote nationalism within the country and to attract pilgrims from other realms.



CHAPTER FIVE

A Charnel House of Images

The Padang Lawas Heruka

Every archaeologist feels a certain satisfaction when his finds have been placed in the care of a museum, but alas, some disappointment, too, with regard to the surroundings in which they are found to have been placed. A museum, however tastefully it may be arranged, is much like a charnel-house. The brilliancy and the romance of the original surroundings are gone; nobody knows how much fear or joy the explorer felt when he discovered his treasures. — F. M. Schnitger[1]

IT IS HARD TO imagine today, upon visiting the site of Padang Lawas in northern Sumatra, that it once was a thriving religious center.[2] This is so not only because of the physical remoteness of the site, but also because of the sense of desolation that pervades the region. Yet set against the barren landscape, amidst a network of extremely poor villages, are the ruins of dozens of temples. These temples have poorly withstood the passage of time — not only have they been eroded by nature, but bricks and stones have been removed by both villagers and early European excavators.[3] One of the most spectacular images at the site was a sculpture of the Buddhist deity Heruka, found in 1930 already smashed into pieces (fig. 5.1). According to archaeologists, in 1976 the statue "vanished without a trace."[4]

In this chapter I will attempt to piece together the story of that shattered image by first exploring the literary and sculptural traditions concerning Heruka in India and Indonesia and then investigating how this tantric Buddhist deity may have fit into the cultural background of Padang Lawas. This examination involves exploring the history of the region and assessing what inscriptions and sculpture can tell us about the religious background of the temples. I will also discuss the connections between the Batak peoples of this area and these ancient remains.[5] This discussion requires trying to reconcile two wildly diverging views — that of many early European scholars who thought it natural that the "savage" Batak would accept the bloodthirsty



FIGURE 5.1. Heruka, ca. eleventh–twelfth century, Biaro Bahal II, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, h 118 cm, site museum Biaro Bahal

rituals of esoteric Buddhism and that of many Batak themselves who today completely deny any association with the temples.

The Image and Its Setting

Padang Lawas (meaning "broad plain") is a sparsely populated region covering much of the district of South Tapanuli in North Sumatra (fig. 5.2). The area is notable for its dry and barren landscape — the rare scattered tree amidst a savanna of *alang-alang* grass and dry underbrush. At one time, between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, this region near the confluence of the Panai, Barumun, and Sirumambe rivers was a flourishing Buddhist community, with the remains of at least twenty-six temples and *stūpas* strewn over a 1,500-square-kilometer area.[6] All of the remaining temples are situated close to the banks of the three aforementioned rivers, and are sadly today in a state of ruin. The most accessible structures at Padang Lawas are Biaro Bahal I, II, and III; Biaro Pulo; Biaro Si Pamutung; Biaro Si Topayan; Biaro Aek Sangkilon; and Biaro Bara.

The brick temples are mostly of simple square form and occasionally decorated with reliefs. They are known locally as *biaro,* derived from the Sanskrit *vihāra* (Buddhist monastery). Yet the small, single-celled buildings do not appear to have ever housed monks, and most of the objects of worship that may have resided within the structures have disappeared. Despite the number of temples, there is little evidence of any large settlements in the area; instead, the region was likely on a trade route connecting northwestern Sumatra to the eastern central coast.[7]

The most dramatic evidence of esoteric Buddhism at Padang Lawas was a sculpture found inside of the temple called Biaro Bahal II. The cubical body of the temple rested on a square base surmounted by an octagonal superstructure with niches facing the cardinal directions.[8] On an altar at the back of the cella, Bosch discovered one key image, a large (1.18-meter-high) stone carving depicting Heruka, a seldom-depicted god in the Vajrayāna Buddhist pantheon (see fig. 5.1).[9] When the image was excavated in 1930, it had already been smashed into fifteen pieces, but these parts were assembled and photographed. According to the archaeologist Rumbi Mulia in 1976, the image "disappeared and not even fragments were found."[10]

The photos show the deity standing with a slightly bent left leg, his left foot placed on a supine corpse (fig. 5.3). His right knee is sharply angled with the right foot pulled up and pressed against his left thigh. His right arm, holding a *vajra,* is raised over his head, while his left hand appears to hold a small



FIGURE 5.2. Padang Lawas

skullcap in front of his chest. Tucked beneath his left arm is a long staff, which once extended at least as far as the figure's right knee. The upper end of the staff, festooned with tasseled streamers, appears above his left shoulder.

Much of the image has been extremely defaced, but one can still make out elements of the ornamentation. Heruka wears earrings, bracelets and anklets, a belt with beaded loops and tassels, two necklaces, and a caste-cord. A long pleated scarf falls between his legs. A long chain of what seem to be human heads swings around his body, falling over both thighs. His tall, flaming headdress forms two overlapping half ovals, layered and culminating in a soft point. Five spherical forms (possibly skulls) were said to punctuate the diadem.[11] It appears as if a figure once sat in the center of the headdress but has been broken off. Bows and ribbons hold the headdress in place and flutter in the air after fastening on either side of the image's head.[12] Despite the mutilation of the image and the porous quality of the tufa stone, it is still possible to detect that it was at one time finely carved. Schnitger hypothesizes that the stone is a liparite tufa from the area around Lake Toba, thus indicating that



FIGURE 5.3. Heruka, base of figure 5.1

the statue was made locally.[13] The naturalistic depiction of the figure's left hand and the delicate beadwork hanging from his belt are traces of the quality of its original workmanship.

Descriptions of Heruka in Literature

In 1930 Bosch identified the principal statue in Biaro Bahal II as Heruka based on a *sādhana* translated by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya.[14] As several scholars have noted, Heruka is both the name of a specific deity and of a class of wrath-

ful deities *(krodha-vighnāntaka)* who are emanations of Akṣobhya.[15] In his *yab-yum* form the deity is often known as Hevajra, the main deity of the *Hevajratantra*.[16] Descriptions of the god can also be found in the *Sādhanamāla, Abhidhānottarasādhanatantra,* and *Hevajrasādhanatantra*. The *Sādhanamāla* contains at least five *sādhana*[17] dedicated to Heruka, one of which corresponds closely to our image.[18]

> Heruka stands on a corpse in the ardhaparyaṅka attitude. He is well-clad in human skin with his body besmeared with ashes. He holds vajra in his right hand while his left hand wields the kapāla full of blood. On the left side from the shoulder hangs a khaṭvāṅga with a fluttering flag. He wears a muṇḍamālā of fifty heads. His face is slightly distorted with bare fangs and . . . blood-shot eyes. His brown hair rises upwards in tiara on which is the effigy Akṣobhya. He has kuṇḍala as his ear-ornament and he is decked in ornaments of bones. On his head he carries five skulls.[19]

Heruka is also mentioned in the *Kālikāpurāṇa,* a tantric Hindu text of the tenth or eleventh century dedicated to Mahādevī.[20] K. R. van Kooij suggests that in this case "[t]here is no need to think of a borrowing of Hinduism from Buddhism or vice versa; it is more probable that their occurrence in the two religions is the result of certain practices shared by both."[21] The practices that he speaks of include worship in cemetery grounds, human sacrifice, and various types of meditation.

So far all of our sources for Heruka's iconography have come from the Indian subcontinent; we also have evidence of his worship in Indonesia from the Majapahit-era *kakawin,* the *Sutasoma*. This work, written by the Old Javanese poet Mpu Tantular, describes in detail the practices and motivations of a tantric ascetic focused on Heruka:

> This is why the Mahāyāna ascetic desires very much to have the power of a magician.
> Not because he wishes to devour human flesh, not because he wishes to satisfy himself with food and drink,
> [but] because his greatest concern is true knowledge, the power over death and life.
> This is the goal of his penance, that thuswise he will be regarded as Jinapati, the apotheosis of those who are *nirāśraya*.
>
> Manifold were his antics, not to mention his use of an umbrella while practicing harsh asceticism.

Blood flowed down, smelling badly, dripping on his head and trickled down his chest,
He coiled intestines around himself, and many green flies settled on his face, crawling into his eyes.
But his mind did not deviate as he waited for god Hairuka to descend on earth.

Many ogres before him greedily devoured flesh, terrible in appearance.
Violent were the ghosts, dwarfs, gaily drinking blood, dancing and becoming drunk.
Others went down to bathe in the ocean of blood with thundering waves.
Beautiful looking were the islands of corpses of kings and soldiers, and corpses of elephants were the rocks.[22]

One final tantalizing reference to Heruka/Hevajra in Indonesia is a stone inscription in Pagarruyung, West Sumatra, two hundred kilometers south of Padang Lawas. The inscription celebrates Ananggawarman, the son of King Ādityawarman, and ends with the phrase *"Hewajra nityasmrti."* According to Satyawati Suleiman, the inscription proves that Ananggawarman, like his father, was an adherent of esoteric Buddhism.[23] It does indicate that Heruka/Hevajra continued to be worshipped among the ruling classes in Sumatra until the fourteenth century. Some scholars have suggested connections between the Hevajra ceremonies described in such texts as the *Hevajravaśitā* and royal consecration rituals in Java.[24] As discussed in chapter 2, it is possible that King Kṛtanagara of Java may have used esoteric rituals in order to be declared *cakravartin,* mimicking the Mongol ruler Khubilai Khan.

Other Images of Heruka

Despite the evidence of Heruka worship in Indonesia, the Padang Lawas statue is the only image of this deity now known from the archipelago.[25] Relatively few statues of Heruka have been found on the Indian subcontinent.[26] The earliest sculpture we have comes from Amarāvati and dates from the eighth or ninth century CE.[27] Two major Buddhist centers in Northern India, Sarnath and Nālandā, have yielded images of Heruka from the eleventh and twelfth centuries that have sadly suffered much damage.[28]

Heruka was evidently also worshipped in eastern India.[29] An image from Ratnagiri in Orissa, although substantially damaged, is similar to the Padang Lawas statue (fig. 5.4).[30] Both figures stand on one foot upon a supine corpse,



FIGURE 5.4. Heruka, ca. eleventh century, Ratnagiri, Orissa, India, h 1.65 m

with a *vajra* in the right hand and a staff tucked under the left arm. The structure of the torso of each figure is similar, with a narrow waist broadening into a wide chest. The thin arms and legs mirror each other, with the tightly flexed right leg mimicking the sharp angle of the left arm and the raised right arm mirroring the flexion of the left leg. The images, though, are not identical. The Sumatran Heruka is somewhat more dynamic. His body is bent at sharper angles, and his scarves flow more dramatically from between his legs and behind his shoulders. The headdress of the Heruka from Ratnagiri is set against a background of rising flames carved upon the upper portion of the stele itself. Rising from this is a raised nimbus incised with finely carved striations. The headdress itself is intricately decorated with skulls but does not appear to have an Akṣobhya Buddha at its center.

The image that perhaps most closely resembles the Heruka of Padang Lawas is an eleventh-century statue from Subhapur in Bangladesh,[31] now in the Dacca Museum (fig. 5.5).[32] The black chlorite sculpture is 1.65 meters high; its hands and legs are damaged. Like the Sumatran image, this Heruka has his right leg tightly drawn up with his foot against the left thigh. He balances on his left foot, but at a less oblique angle than the other images discussed.



FIGURE 5.5. Heruka, ca. eleventh century, Bangladesh, Subhapur, Comilla district, h 1.65 m, Dacca Museum, from Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum,* pl. XII

The sash falling between the legs, as well and the scarves floating from the *khaṭvāṅga* (staff) and headdress, are similarly depicted on each figure. Likewise, the headdresses form a point, with a space left for an image of Akṣobhya. The jewelry is more refined and intricate on the Subhapur statue, perhaps because the stone is of higher quality. The garland of both statues is fashioned from severed heads hanging by the hair along a long cord. The major difference between the images is the base. The Subhapur Heruka rests upon a double-lotus base, while at Padang Lawas, the deity balances upon a corpse.

Most of the sculptures of Heruka from the Indian subcontinent were found in well-known monastic settings. The discovery of a Heruka statue in a remote region of northern Sumatra raises many questions about the region and the nature of religious practices at the site. Much of this history remains clouded in mystery; further excavation and conservation will certainly reveal important information. In the following pages, I will explore the cultural context of the Heruka statue by examining inscriptional evidence, the site itself, and other statuary found in the region.

The Builders of Padang Lawas

The presence of extensive ruins in this remote region of northern Sumatra has fueled many theories regarding who built and worshipped at these temples. There are both Dutch and Batak texts that propose that foreign invaders came, erected these structures, and then disappeared.[33] These accounts suggest that the temples were constructed either by Indian immigrants or by Javanese colonizers. Although there is clear evidence of a Tamil presence in the region and some suggestions of Javanese influence at the site, on the whole, the architectural and sculptural remains as well the inscriptions point to indigenous Batak builders of the temples.[34]

Several scholars have argued that the region around Padang Lawas was the ancient kingdom of Panai,[35] mentioned in the Tanjore inscription of the Cōḷa king Rājendracōḷa I.[36] But the exact location of Panai remains in dispute (much like that of the early Sumatran kingdom of Śrīvijaya). A 1030–1031 CE Tamil inscription describes an attack by the Cōḷas on the Śailendra ruler of Kadāram and his territories at Śrīvijaya, as well as a subsequent attack on Panai and a host of other cities.[37] Scholars have argued over the hyperbolic nature of Rājendra's inscription, questioning both the extent and the longevity of his conquests.[38]

The earliest inscription from the region is on the pedestal of a bronze image of Lokanātha flanked by two Tārās, now in the Museum Nasional Indonesia (fig. 5.6).[39] The inscription reads, in part, *juru pāṇḍai suryya barbwat bhatāra lokanātha* (the master smith Suryya made this image of Lokanātha). It also contains a standard Buddhist donative formula: "by making these good deeds the common property of all mankind, I am made ripe for the highest Perfect Vision."[40] The inscription is significant not only because of the date of 1039 CE, but also because of the language used.[41] In signing his work (an extremely rare occurrence in ancient Indonesian art), the artist used the Old Malay language interspersed with Sanskrit. The use of Malay indicates that the piece was made locally and not imported from India or Java.

Several other inscriptions also use Old Malay, and at least two are written in a script thought to be a precursor of the Batak script.[42] These inscriptions indicate that some form of tantric Buddhism was practiced at the site. At two of the temples, inscribed gold plates were discovered, both bearing images of *vajras* at the center. Besides the *vajra* imagery, the plate from the main temple of Aek Sangkilon also had several lines referring to the consecration of a Yamāri image with eight faces, twenty-four eyes, and a wreath of skulls.[43] At Biaro Tandihet the plate was impressed with an inscription ending in a long



FIGURE 5.6. Lokanātha and Tārā, 1039, bronze, Gunungtua, North Sumatra, h 45 cm, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 626d

series of repetitive syllables: *wanwawanwanāgi bukāngṛhūgṛ hūcitrasamasyssā tūnhahahahā hūṁ hūhūhaiho hauhaha oṃāḥhūṃ.* Although it is possible to recognize individual words, scholars have not been able to make sense of the inscription. Stutterheim noted the similarity between the use of the syllables *ha ha* and *hū hū* in this inscription and the inscription on the back of the previously discussed Amoghapāśa sculpture found in West Sumatra.[44] He interpreted this string of sounds to represent ritual laughter during a tantric ceremony.[45]

Besides these Malay inscriptions that seem to relate to Buddhist practice, a few inscriptions in the Tamil language have also been found in North Sumatra.[46] An eleventh century inscription from Lobo Tuwa near the important port of Barus on the west coast of Sumatra describes a settlement of Tamil merchants.[47] In the region of Padang Lawas, a bilingual Tamil/Old Malay-Javanese

inscription was found on a pillar topped by a Gaṇeśa head.[48] This fragmentary thirteenth century inscription describes an offering by an official on behalf of a Javanese king. Jan Wisseman Christie makes a connection between this inscription, which mentions the official, *senapati rakan Dīpangka[. .]dā[.]a,* and the inscription on the back of the Sumatran Amoghapāśa statue, discussed in chapter four.

According to the Padang Rotjo [Roco] inscription, one of the officials accompanying the relief statue from Java to Sumatra was a member of the royal family, dyaḥ samgat Payāna hang(?) Dīpangkaradāsa. This name is very similar to that of the official appearing in the Porlak Dolok inscription, the text of which also concerns a meritorious act performed on behalf of a Javanese king bearing the same title. There are thus clear links — in content, language and possibly personnel — between the Old Javanese–language inscription of Padang Rotjo (dated 1286 A.D.) and the bilingual Tamil and Old Malay/Javanese language inscription of Porlak Dolok. Both appear to relate to a period of intense Javanese interaction with the east coast of Sumatra. Again, the use of Tamil language in a portion of the Porlak Dolok inscription in less easy to explain at this point.[49]

If Christie is correct in her hypothesis that the official named in both inscriptions may be the same, then the Gaṇeśa image is important evidence of the influence in Sumatra of the East Javanese court. The Gaṇeśa from Porlak Dolok was one of relatively few Hindu images found at Padang Lawas.[50] The remains of Hindu antiquities have been found at a few other sites in Sumatra, including Muara Jambi, Kota Cina, and Tanah Abang on the lower Lematang River.[51] The role of Javanese patronage at these isolated Hindu temples still needs to be explored. The existence of these isolated Tamil inscriptions discussed by Christie does not seem to indicate that Tamils living in Sumatra had any connection with the Buddhist antiquities on the island.

The kingdom of Panai is again mentioned in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*. Here it is listed as one of the many territories owing allegiance to the Majapahit empire, though its exact location is not specified.[52] Several theories have been proposed concerning the precise location of Panai. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and George Coedès both concluded that it was near the mouth of the Barumun River on the east coast of Sumatra.[53] Paul Wheatley questioned the existence of Panai at all,[54] but today it is generally assumed that Bosch and Schnitger were correct in associating the Panai of the Cōḷa inscription and of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* with the region surrounding Padang Lawas.[55]

Rumbi Mulia uses the occurrence of a derivation of the word "Panai" in the

Batak language to argue that the kingdom was indeed inland and to the west, in the areas traditionally populated by Bataks.[56] Among the Batak, derivations of the word "Panai" are used in several contexts. A tributary of the Barumun River is the Batang Panai, a district east of Lake Toba is named Pane, the god of the underworld is Pane na Bolon, and Pane is also a clan name for a group of Angkola Batak in South Tapanuli.[57] Taken together, the evidence, though scattered, seems to indicate that the temples at Padang Lawas were part of the kingdom of Panai.

The Site of Padang Lawas

Initial descriptions of the temples at Padang Lawas date from the mid to late nineteenth century,[58] but the primary research was conducted in the early twentieth century by some of the giants in the field of Indonesian archaeology, P. V. van Stein Callenfels,[59] F. D. K. Bosch, and, most prominently, F. M. Schnitger, an amateur archaeologist who eventually became conservator of the Palembang Museum.[60] It is impossible to discuss the art of ancient Sumatra without acknowledging Schnitger's research in the early decades of the twentieth century. In a series of publications in the 1930s, Schnitger documented and discussed many of the most important remains of the region. Schnitger's work is both extremely informative and problematically romantic. His reports from archaeological expeditions are valuable for their photographs and descriptions of artifacts, but often they do not provide accurate accounts of find-spots, nor much historical or comparative information.

In the early to mid-1950s a team of Indonesian archaeologists led by Satyawati Suleiman surveyed and attempted to safeguard antiquities in the region.[61] In 1978, the Directorate of History and Archaeology began clearing the grounds of some of the more significant temple compounds. The Batak archaeologist Rumbi Mulia published a short monograph on the temples in 1980.[62] The restoration of Biaro Bahal I and II was begun in the 1980s and continued into the early 1990s.[63] In the late 1990s Biaro Si Pamutung was under reconstruction. Yet today, the majority of the temples still remain in ruins.

Most temple complexes here consist of a containing wall with a gate facing the east, a square platform (*pendopo* terrace) with stairs to the east and west, leading to, at the rear of the complex, the main temple, also facing the east (fig. 5.7). Occasionally the compound contains subsidiary structures, the bases of *stūpas* and small *stambhas* (low decorated columns.) The majority of temples are composed of a square base with a projecting stairwell, surmounted



FIGURE 5.7. Biaro Bahal I, eleventh–twelfth century, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra

by a square, single-celled body. Variation exists in the superstructures of the temples. The superstructure of Biaro Bahal I is uniquely cylindrical; the base of the superstructure of Biaro Bahal II is octagonal, and may have had niches for Buddha images and lions. Many of the other temples are in such a state of ruin it is difficult to tell their original form. Biaro Si Pamutung is exceptional; it was topped by two stories, the first with sixteen *stūpas,* the second with twelve, and crowned by a central *stūpa* with three parasols.[64]

The style of the temples cannot be directly linked to South India or anywhere in Java. The compounds do bear some resemblance to East Javanese temples, in that they are surrounded by a gated wall and contain an asymmetrical collection of structures. As in Java, *dvārapālas* (guardian figures) stand or squat in front of many of the temples, often making a threatening gesture with two fingers of the left hand.[65] Yet unlike East Java or Bali, where the compound is broken up into courtyards, there are no such subdivisions evident at Padang Lawas. The simple square form of the temples and lack of narrative reliefs also distinguish the temples from their East Javanese counterparts. Brick, which was used at some sites in East Java, especially at Trowulan, is the predominant building material at Padang Lawas, as well as at the other major sites in Sumatra, such as Muara Jambi and Muara Takus.

The temples do make use of some stone in statuary and ornamentation that





FIGURE 5.8. *(Above)* Statuary at Padang Lawas

FIGURE 5.9. *(Left) Stūpa* or *stambha,* Biaro Bahal I, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra

can be seen in the remains of Buddha images, *dvārapāla, makara,* and lions (fig. 5.8). Of particular interest are *stūpa, stambhas,* and pedestals that are frequently found on the temple grounds (fig. 5.9).[66] J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw thought the *stambhas* were *stūpas,* and she was clearly correct about some of them, especially those carved with Buddha or Tārā images.[67] Other examples of these monoliths have quite unusual iconography. One is shaped like a *liṅga* with a lotus bud finial.[68] Other *stambhas* and pedestals have carvings of human figures that do not seem to be of an explicitly Buddhist nature.[69]

All of these sculptures are at least partially broken or degraded; many have disappeared completely. According to Rumbi Mulia, "The damaged condition of nearly all these antiquities, especially of the deities, must be ascribed to intentional demolition."[70]

F. D. K. Bosch notes that although many of the same architectural details are used in Java and at Padang Lawas, in Sumatra these motifs are stylistically different and take on an indigenous character.[71] In some instances, the Sumatran sculptures seem like "poor cousins" to their Javanese counterparts. The Padang Lawas *dvārapālas* are stiff and crudely carved. At times, though, this lack of artistry can work to the statue's advantage: the rough vigor of the carved *dvārapāla* heads now in the Museum Nasional Indonesia gives them a frightening ferocity (fig. 5.10). In other cases, the artists transform architectural elements into unique forms. The site yielded only a single large *kāla* head, which might have adorned a temple portal, but *kālas* are often found on the many *stambha* pedestals strewn across the temple compounds.[72] Perhaps the most magnificent illustration of the Sumatran stylistic vernacular can be seen in the huge *makara* found at the base of the temple stairs. The *makara* are often very large and have human arms, as well as gaping mouths revealing *dvārapāla* figures. Though many of these *makara* are damaged and now detached from their original settings, an example from Biaro Si Pamutung shows us a glimpse of the high quality of carving that must have once existed at many of the temples (fig. 5.11).[73]

Two temples, Biaro Pulo and Biaro Bahal I, were decorated around the base with relief panels. Little remains of Biaro Pulo today; a pile of brick rubble sits to one side, a collection of stone pilaster segments to the other. The temple's stone carvings were removed by Schnitger and sent to the museum in Jakarta.[74] These panels, approximately 52 x 36 cm, depict dancers contorted into a wide range of vigorous postures.

Each of the five rectangular panels on display at the museum today depicts one dancing figure (figs. 5.12–16). The method of filling in the background of the panels with stylized foliage is similar to that of thirteenth- to fourteenth-century Java. But the figures themselves do not have the *wayang*-like angularity of East Javanese relief carving. Nor do they have the naturalism of freestanding statues of the period. Instead they seem somewhat quickly executed (a quality perhaps enhanced by the frenetic poses of the dancers). The bodies and limbs are deeply carved and given real roundness, but other details are oddly proportioned. The arm of one figure curves naturally around his upraised leg, but his hand appears boneless and flattened and the leg itself jointless and strangely foreshortened (fig. 5.12). The dancers wear short skirts



FIGURE 5.10. Head of a *dvārapāla,* probably from Biaro Bahal I, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, h 41 cm, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 102



FIGURE 5.11. *Makara,* thirteenth–fourteenth century, Biaro Si Pamutung, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra

and abundant jewelry. Two are clearly masked — one with an elephant head (fig. 5.13) and another with the head of an ox (fig. 5.14) — a third depicts a figure wearing a sacred thread and skull earplugs (fig. 5.15), a fourth some kind of *rākṣasa* (demon) (fig. 5.16), and the fifth a man dancing in an acrobatic pose (see fig. 5.12). Some scholars suggest that these reliefs may depict masked dancers taking part in a Buddhist sacred dance, similar to ceremonies performed in the Himalayas, Mongolia, and Laos.[75]

Dancing figures are also carved into the base of Biaro Bahal I, one of the few temples at Padang Lawas that has been substantially restored (fig. 5.7). A square terraced base supports the cubical body, which is topped by a cylindrical superstructure decorated with carved garlands. Remnants of stone parasols found nearby indicate that the sanctuary was surmounted by a *stūpa*. As one approaches the temple, one can see life-size ithyphallic human figures carved on either side of the doorway.[76] Large relief carvings of similarly aroused lions flank walls on the east side of the temple (fig. 5.17). Unlike the reliefs of Biaro Pulo, the figures at Bahal I are not carved on stone panels, but directly into the brick walls of the temple. The temple has a projection to the east to incorporate the stairs. Panels with dancers can be seen carved on the walls of this projection. These figures are not masked but do depict threaten-



FIGURE 5.12. Relief of figure with raised leg, thirteenth–fourteenth century, from Biaro Pulo, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, h 52 cm × w 36 cm, Museum Nasional Indonesia



FIGURE 5.13. Relief of figure with elephant nose, thirteenth–fourteenth century, North Sumatra, Padang Lawas, Biaro Pulo, h 52 cm × w 36 cm, Museum Nasional Indonesia

ing *rākṣasa*-like beings, armed with various weapons, all in active poses (figs. 5.18, 5.19). The dancers have bulging eyes, unruly hair, and fierce grins.[77]

Another sculpture with similar features was found at Biaro Si Pamutung, the largest of the temples at Padang Lawas (fig. 5.20).[78] According to legend, Si Pamutung (meaning "the ferocious one") was the founder of the temple. Mulia writes:

> Another remarkable discovery by Schnitger was a stone fragment representing a finely moulded upper torso of a goddess, hands in *anjali mudra,* the gesture of solutation *[sic].* She is wearing armlets, bracelets and a necklace of two strings with a pendant. Notable are the large curved tusks protruding from either side of her mouth, while the bulging eyes and large ear studs complete the demonic character of the image. It must have represented a royal figure and could be no less than the queen, spouse of the founder Si Pamutung, consecrated in life as *Bhairavi.* Her coiffure consisted of three tiers, the lowest band adorned with a large triangular ornament in the centre. The eyebrows are very rounded and meet at the top of the bridge. An



FIGURE 5.14. Relief of figure with ox head, thirteenth–fourteenth century, from Biaro Pulo, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, h 52 cm × w 36 cm, Museum Nasional Indonesia



FIGURE 5.15. Relief of figure with a sacred thread, thirteenth–fourteenth century, from Biaro Pulo, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, h 52 cm × w 36 cm, Museum Nasional Indonesia



FIGURE 5.16. Relief of dancing figure, thirteenth–fourteenth century, from Biaro Pulo, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, h 52 cm × w 36 cm, Museum Nasional Indonesia



FIGURE 5.17. Lion relief, Biaro Bahal I, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, h 57 cm × w 57 cm

> attractive feature is her square face which is definitely an expression of local ethnic type, indicating that it must have been a portrait statue.[79]

Near the bhairavi image Schnitger uncovered another partial statue that appears to be her partner (fig. 5.20, right). Only the head of this second image remained, but the face is similar to the first in shape and size (18 cm). Schnitger also mentions finding the head of a third image, this one much larger (33 cm). He describes its elaborately layered headdress with five skulls on the front side and hypothesizes that it might be the head of the main image of the temple.[80] Unfortunately, Schnitger does not include a photo of this head, and none of these three images are evident at the site today. (Sadly, this is true of most of the intriguing sculptures that Schnitger mentions, often in



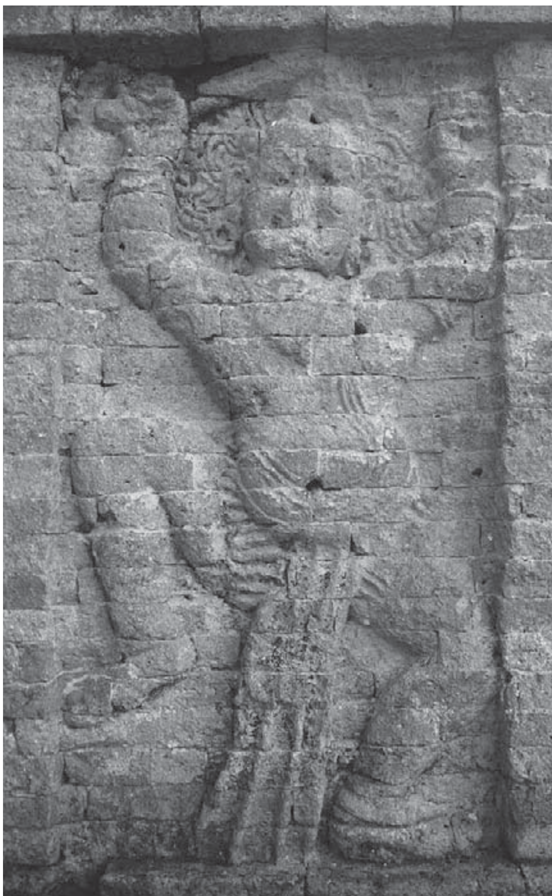


FIGURE 5.18. *(Above)* Reliefs, Biaro Bahal I, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, each panel h 57 cm × w 108.5 cm

FIGURE 5.19. *(Left)* Relief, Biaro Bahal I, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, h 57 cm × w 108.5 cm



FIGURE 5.20. Bhairava and bhairavi, Biaro Si Pamutung, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, h 43 cm, from Schnitger, *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* pl. XXVIII

passing, throughout much of his work. It is impossible to know whether the images have been destroyed, stolen, or stored somewhere uninventoried in a warehouse or museum.)

Yet another sculpture decorated with somewhat demonic imagery is a large (1.24 m diameter) round platform displaying four *yakṣa*-like creatures (figs. 5.21, 5.22). It has been suggested that one of these figures actually represents the goddess Lajjā Gaurī.[81] These figures have the same basic features as the bhairava/bhairavi discussed above — wide eyes, large earrings, and full hair. Although the platform remains at the site today, the figures have unfortunately been defaced since the time that Schnitger originally photographed them.

Within the temple chamber of Biaro Bahal II a female figure was found along with the Heruka image. Schnitger describes it as being "a dæmonic woman (?), standing on a corpse [see fig. 5.8, far left]. She wears large ear rings, puffed hair and a string of skulls. The left hand holds a skull in front of the breast, the right hand rests on the hip and holds a *vajra* and a sacrificial knife."[82] Schnitger does not provide much information about the figure — its size, stance, where in the chamber it was found, and so on (Schnitger's work is unfortunately often imprecise in his descriptions of archaeological finds, many of which, like this piece, have since disappeared.)[83] It is possible that the female statue is Heruka's consort Nairātmyā, who stands on a corpse and carries a *kapāla* (skull cup) and *kartṛi* (dagger).[84] But generally she mimics two of Heruka's characteristics by standing in *ardhaparyaṅka* (a half squatting





FIGURE 5.21. *(Above)* Platform, Biaro Si Joreng Belangah, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra

FIGURE 5.22. *(Left)* Platform, detail of 5.21

pose) and carrying a *khaṭvāṅga*. A photograph in the *Oudheidkundig Verslag* of 1930 shows a female figure with iconography similar to the one to which Schnitger refers.

Dozens of other artifacts attest to the Buddhist nature of Padang Lawas. A Vajrasattva image was uncovered at Bahal I. At Biaro Joreng a *stambha* was

found bearing images of the directional buddhas, set upon a base decorated with *vajras* and a series of human figures. Another *stambha* with images of Tārā was discovered at the nearby Biaro Longgang.[85] Excavated at Si Pamutung was a bronze Buddha bearing the *mudrā* of Amitābha, but sitting in *paryaṅkāsana* (one leg folded over the other), an unconventional posture.[86] *Vajras* were carved on fragments of statuary at several of the *biaro*.

All this imagery convinced Schnitger that Padang Lawas was dedicated to tantric worship and that the sanctuary at Si Pamutung was dedicated to a "horrible Buddhist demon."[87] He also believed that the religion at Padang Lawas was influential in the spread of esoteric Buddhism throughout Sumatra, the archipelago, and surrounding countries. He writes, "It may be taken for granted that the great demonology of Java in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and that of Minangkabau in about the same period were influenced and promoted by the prominent barbarian Buddhism of Tapanuli."[88] This contradicts previous theories that the religion spread from East Java to Sumatra, brought by emissaries of the Singasari empire, and Javanese transplants such as Ādityawarman (see chapter 6). What is clear from looking at all of these fragmentary statues is that the sculpture of Northern Sumatra was stylistically quite distinct from either Indian or Javanese art of this period.

Construction and Destruction of Images: Batak Connections

Uniting many of the images from Padang Lawas is that they have sustained substantial damage. In some cases, such as the Heruka statue, the destruction was obviously intentional. In *Ruthless Compassion,* Rob Linrothe discusses the reaction of South Asian monks to some of the unorthodox practices of esoteric Buddhism.[89] He relates the perhaps apocryphal story of Atiśa at Vikramaśila expelling a monk who had become a Kālacakra disciple of Nāropa, but then later regretting his action and going to Tibet to do penance. Linrothe writes:

> A similar incident is reported by the seventeenth century Tibetan historian Tāranātha. He writes that in Bodh Gaya a silver statue of Heruka was intentionally destroyed by Sinhalese monks. And in the late tenth century, the royal monk of Guge, Yeshe Ö, "banned the practitioners of whatever was heretical, such as liberation through sexual union, meditations on corpses."[90]

While other evidence suggests that often there was peaceful coexistence between followers of Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhism,[91] Tāranātha's story of the destruction of a Heruka image is intriguing because it strikes at the very heart of the debate about how tantric images were used and received in the past. This question is especially interesting in northern Sumatra, where scholars have argued either that tantric beliefs were readily accepted because of their similarity to local traditions or, quite in contrast, that the populace did not accept esoteric Buddhism and eventually rebelled against it.

Few scholars have failed to mention connections between tantric practices at Padang Lawas and the religion of the Batak peoples in the region. Originally, the word "Batak" was most likely a derisive term used by coastal peoples to apply to the inland (and often highland) peoples. Currently, the term refers to several different groups with distinct but related linguistic and cultural traditions spread throughout northern Sumatra. The most closely studied, the Toba Batak, occupy the region around Lake Toba, while the Padang Lawas region is now inhabited primarily by the Angkola Bataks. Today most Bataks are either Muslim or Christian, but their traditional belief systems centered upon worship of gods of the upper and lower worlds as well as ancestor worship.

Robert Heine-Geldern focused on Batak indigenous religious beliefs when he described the central image at Bahal II:

> It represents Heruka dancing on a corpse, one of the most terrible gods of Vajrayana Buddhism, who was offered bloody sacrifices, probably even human ones, and among the rites of whose worship, the drinking of human blood and eating human flesh played a part. This worship of Heruka formed a point of contact between the Indian and the indigenous rites — since Padang Lawas is inhabited by a branch of Bataks — and gave impulse to the transformed interpretation of Batak cannibalism into a magic rite of degenerate Buddhism. And just this Buddhist interpretation, though forgotten again in the course of time, possibly was one of the essential reasons why Batak cannibalism was able to survive for so long a period.[92]

Like Heine-Geldern, many early Western visitors to northern Sumatra were struck by the reputation of the Batak for cannibalism.[93] Our earliest account of such behavior comes from a ninth-century Arab text.[94] Years later, Marco Polo, who spent five months in Sumatra in 1292 while en route to the Levant, wrote one of the most graphic descriptions. While he does not call the Batak by name, the "out-and-out savages" of the "Dagroian" state that he mentions most likely refers to the Batak:

> They are idolaters; and I will tell you of one custom they have which is particularly bad. You must know that, when one of them, male or female, falls sick, the kinsfolk send for the magicians to find out whether the patient is due to recover. . . . If they say that he is due to die, then the kinsfolk send for certain men who are specially appointed to put such persons to death. These men come and seize the patient and put something over his mouth so as to suffocate him. When he is dead, they cook him. Then all his kinsfolk assemble and eat him whole. I assure you that they even devour all the marrow in his bones. This they do because they do not want one scrap of his substance to remain. For they say that if any scrap remained then this substance would generate worms, which would thereupon die for want of food. And by the death of these worms they declare that the dead man's soul would incur great sin and torment, because so many souls generated by his substance met their deaths. That is why they eat him whole. After they have eaten him, they take his bones and put them in a handsome casket. Then they carry this and hang it in a huge cavern in the mountains, in some place where no beast or other evil thing can touch it. I assure you further that, if they can get hold of some stranger who is not of their country, they seize him and, if he cannot ransom himself, they kill him and devour him on the spot. This then is a very bad and detestable custom.[95]

The passage is remarkable for several reasons. The account's justification of cannibalism (with its compassionate concern for the life of the maggots) is perhaps even more intriguing than the description of the act itself. And the ceremony of the burial sounds more like the practices of the Toraja in Central Sulawesi than of any known Batak burial customs.[96]

In fact, the Batak reputation for cannibalism was greatly exaggerated. "Cannibalism was actually an infrequent form of capital punishment"[97] that was not practiced by all of the groups traditionally called Batak.[98] The custom of saving the skulls and other bones of ancestors, often in elaborate sarcophagi, probably confused many European visitors, as well as habits of blackening teeth and chewing betel (thus producing red lips). Batak notoriety, as well as the remote highlands in which the Batak lived, kept them in relative isolation until the late nineteenth century. The propagation of a negative impression was no doubt due to the fact that most accounts of Batak culture were written by missionaries who were particularly disturbed by Batak indigenous traditions. As Janet Hoskins notes, "The colonial agenda included remaking native consciousness and bringing indigenous peoples into the realm of civilized discourse. The idea of violent savagery was part of the script that legitimized

conquest, but that violence was then supposed to be tempered by a new Christian conscience and Protestant work ethic."[99]

However problematic the Western scholars' perspective on the Batak, they are not alone. Indonesian scholars have also commented upon the "suitability" of tantric practices in Batak lands:

> The demonic character of Tantrism with its horrible rituals, involving human sacrifice suited the old Batak religion in which sorcery and the conjuring of spirits played an important role. The doctrines of Tantric Buddhism seem to have fallen into fertile soil in Padang Lawas. (Bosch O. V. 1930). The population eagerly accepted the new Tantric doctrines, readily recognizing their old indigenous elements and customs in these rites.[100]

One aspect of traditional Batak culture that has parallels in tantric practices is the use of a magic staff. As in many traditional Southeast Asian societies, shamans played an important part in Batak culture, as advisers and healers. Scholars have been quick to point out similarities between the magic staff of the Batak shamans and the *khaṭvāṅga* carried by the deity Heruka. The Batak staff or *tunggal panaluan* is a tall, thin stick carved with human and animal figures. It often contains an enclosure in which a sacred substance would be placed. The Batak shaman would use the staff in rituals that protected villagers by warding off evil spirits.

Heruka's *khaṭvāṅga,* like the staff of the tantric Buddhist master Padmasambhava, is often depicted topped with a *vajra,* with a white skull, the red head of an old man, and the blue head of a child head strung below it, and ribbons streaming from the sides (fig. 5.23).[101] The Batak have at least two types of magic staffs.[102] The *tunggal panaluan* are about six feet long and feature a long series of standing or squatting figures, sometimes interspersed with horses or composite animals, carved along the length of the staff (fig. 5.24). A cavity in the staff was said to contain a substance made from the body of a sacrificial victim. The staff was made of wood with a metal ferrule, and was often topped by a coil of black, white, and red threads and a tuft of hair or feathers. The *tungkot malehat* was similar in structure, but with a single figure at the top.

The figures on the *tunggal panaluan* are said to represent figures from a Batak myth.[103] According to legend, a pair of incestuous twins from a village was punished by being made part of a tree. Priests and animals were also transformed into the tree, which later served to protect the villagers from outside dangers. To attain some of its apotropaic power, priests began to carve staffs resembling the tree with human and animal forms.

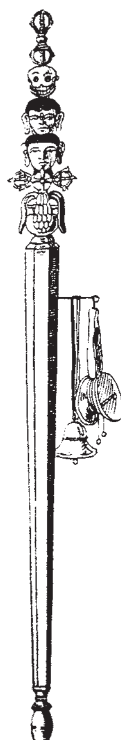




FIGURE 5.23. *(Left)* Drawing of Heruka's *khaṭvāṅga,* from Pander, "Das Pantheon des Tschangstcha Hutuktu," 109

FIGURE 5.24. *(Right)* Batak shaman's staff *(tunggal panaluan),* nineteenth century, private collection

The *tunggal panaluan* bears a superficial resemblance to Heruka's *khaṭvāṅga.* Three heads can often be seen crowning the magic staff of Heruka: one fresh, one dried, and one skull. These symbolize the god's victory over lust, hate, and delusion. The heads of the figures are proportionally exaggerated on the Batak staff in the manner of many ancestor carvings from island Southeast Asia; thus from a distance one sees a series of stacked heads.

The romantic fascination evident in European accounts of Batak culture in general can also be seen in responses to the Batak staff. W. Rassers writes:

> [A]n antique staff, often made into a small work of art by a gifted woodcarver, can have a curious effect on a sensitive viewer. Even if one knows nothing about the way the object was used, or of the gruesome ritual involved in its construction, one's admiration can easily become tainted with a feeling of discomfort, a secret dread, an uneasy feeling that one is coming into contact with dark powers from a mysterious demonic world.[104]

The staff was the most important tool of a Batak priest *(datu).* Along with his books of magic formulas *(pustaha)*[105] and medicine containers, the *datu* used the *tunggal panaluan* for a variety of purposes. A Batak text lists the

following uses: "To make the rains fall when it is necessary and to stop them when too abundant; to give counsel in matters concerning the government of the community; to ward off evil influences, thieves and bandits."[106] Thus there is a similarity not only in appearance, but also to a certain extent in use of the staffs.

Bosch theorized that Heruka was the "special deity of sorcerers" in India and that Batak shamans continued in the tradition by also worshipping the wrathful deity.[107] Other commentaries on the art of Padang Lawas have stressed that the Batak would have accepted the worship of gods such as Heruka because of the sorcery and cannibalism in their culture. At the same time, scholars have presented a somewhat contradictory image by suggesting that the local populace was unwillingly subjected to a ruler with tantric beliefs and that the people eventually destroyed the Heruka image because of their distaste of such practices.

In 1930 Bosch wrote:

> It should not be doubted for a moment that the now so peaceful Bahal witnessed in earlier centuries gruesome orgies and was flooded by streams of the blood of the sacrificed. And what a cruel reign of terror the demonic god exercised over his followers and how much the end of his tyranny was felt as a liberation can be deduced from the thoroughness with which the image is destroyed. Long swallowed and finally overcome fears have left behind here very clear traces of their revenge.[108]

In a similar vein, Pott commented:

> Some of the terror which spread from places like Bahal, the Heruka temple, may be imagined when seeing the way in which the sculptures have been smashed, probably by a crowd that demolished the temples one day when the magic power of those kings was broken, and the people could give rein to their fear and hatred. . . . But was this cult of those kings mere madness, or had it a deeper root, so that we can explain why such a horrible cult could ever come into existence?[109]

Both of these passages suggest the intentional destruction of the Heruka image by a local population afraid of its power. We have evidence in East Java of a similar mutilation of a tantric image. In this case, a statue of a demonic goddess seated on a corpse was found in the village of Ardimulyo, close to Singasari (fig. 5.25). In the twentieth century, the owner of the land where the image was discovered smashed it to pieces with a sledgehammer because he thought it was an evil influence on his family.[110]

Batak Accounts of Padang Lawas

Speculation aside, what do we know of the reaction of the Bataks to the temples and sculpture of Padang Lawas? The earliest European reports from the region relate the indifference of the Bataks to the temples. H. von Rosenberg was one of the first Dutch visitors to the region in 1855. In his short report he wrote that the inhabitants of the surrounding regions were completely ignorant of the origins of the temples.[111] He hypothesized that Hindu emigrants had sailed upriver, built the temples, then had to eventually flee the "fanaticism of the neighboring race." In 1889, Ch. van Kerchoff reported that the locals had no legends about the temples and had told him that they were already there when the Batak came from Toba to populate Padang Lawas.[112] In more recent times Mulia reported, "Unlike on Java, the local population do not wish to be associated with the biaros and pretend not to be aware of their existence."[113]

In *The Batak: Living with Ancestors,* Achim Sibeth makes a suggestion that is in accord with these statements, but sounds startling in the light of the previous research on Padang Lawas. He writes:

> The many remains of Hindu temples in the region of Padang Lawas . . . seem to have no connection with the Batak. There are no inscriptions or sculpture to indicate the builders were Batak. It can be assumed that the temples were built by Hindu-Buddhist-influenced groups who were living in this area long before the Batak did, though the Batak may have been their neighbours at that time. At any rate, in the few family genealogies orally transmitted by the Batak I know of no information going back that far. . . . It is possible that this Hindu-Buddhist centre in Padang Lawas came to an end because of a change in climate following the destruction of the forests in the region, for according the historical memory of the Batak who lived there in the 19th century, their ancestors found no local population when they arrived. They avoided the area around the temples because they are supposed to have found them uncanny.[114]

Several of Sibeth's points can be disputed. The Padang Lawas temples are apparently predominantly Buddhist, not Hindu. Some scholars have associated the script used in some of the inscriptions as a precursor to the Batak script. And finally, there is no evidence of a radical change in the climate of South Tapanuli that might have led to the demise of a religious community. The dryness and barrenness of Padang Lawas is striking in comparison to the



FIGURE 5.25. Camundī, 1292, Ardimulyo (near Singasari), East Java, Trowulan Museum

dense (if rapidly vanishing) forests of the rest of Sumatra. But this does not necessarily mean that the area was deforested in the past. The Bukit Barisan mountain range runs along the spine of Sumatra. Near Padang Lawas there is a pass in the chain that allows the dry winds of the west coast to pass through. John Miksic suggests that the region was never heavily populated, but may have been a ceremonial center that was in a separate location from the population center.[115]

The most interesting part of Sibeth's statement is his description of the reaction of the Bataks to the temples because it contradicts the widely held belief that the Bataks were the "Hindu-Buddhist-influenced group" that built the temples. Scholars have often noted the clear mark of Indian religions and Indian languages on Batak culture.[116] In the village closest to one of the main temples, Biaro Si Pamutung, the villagers have a *marga* or clan named Daulay, which resembles Dhauli in Orissa.[117] There are several other examples of connections to India in the names of Batak clans; for instance, the Sinyombak







FIGURE 5.26. *(Above)* Fragments of Heruka (figure 5.1), leg, Biaro Bahal II, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, site museum Biaro Bahal

FIGURE 5.27. *(Top right)* Fragments of Heruka (figure 5.1), hand, Biaro Bahal II, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, site museum Biaro Bahal

FIGURE 5.28. *(Bottom right)* Fragments of Heruka (figure 5.1), head, Biaro Bahal II, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, site museum Biaro Bahal

Karo Batak have "family names — Berahmana, Culia, Depari, Keling, Maliyala, Pandya, Tekang, and Mukham — which relate mainly to South Indian dynasties or castes."[118]

Perhaps the most intriguing evidence of Indian influence on the religions of the Batak is the names used for three of the highest gods: Bhatara Guru, Soripata, and Mangalabulan. Bhatara Guru was also used in Java, where it has been interpreted as an epithet for both Śiva and Agastya. David Snellgrove suggests the similarities between these names and the names of Śākyamuni

Buddha (as lord teacher) and his disciples Sariputra and Mogalyayana.[119] Other similarities between Batak and Indian culture can be found in language,[120] script, religion, and calendrical systems.

Besides the previously discussed nineteenth-century accounts of Batak dissociation from the temples, a similar attitude can be found in a recent Indonesian text, *Asal-Usul Marga Marga Tapanuli Selatan*. In this book, a number of Batak authors trace the genealogies of their clans. The authors of the book try to distance themselves from any connection to India. In the section of the book that traces the origins of the Daulay clan, the Padang Lawas temples are mentioned. The authors explain that Indian settlers built the temples. According to their account, it was Allah's will to beset the settlers with a catastrophe, the onset of smallpox or cholera, which sent them fleeing back to their homeland. The text goes on to state that the "Hindus" never mixed with the local populace and that "as far as religion is concerned there never were indigenous peoples who practiced Hinduism in the entire district of Tapanuli Selatan and have never been till the present day."[121]

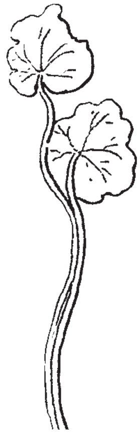
One cannot, of course, take this account to be the voice and opinion of all Batak peoples, but it is interesting in its illustration of how one segment of society views the Padang Lawas antiquities. This indigenous account of the origins of the temples is especially intriguing because it shows that with the conversion to Islam, the ancient Buddhist remains came to be seen as totally foreign. During his research in the 1930s, Schnitger described a "Hindu antiquity" that was used as a Muslim grave. Locals told him that the structures were from Islamic, not earlier, times.[122] In this case the populace accepted the structure that was originally Buddhist or Hindu but because it had been incorporated into Muslim society. But the local Bataks' outright disavowal of the temples as a part of their heritage is a phenomenon by no means unique to Sumatra. We see a similar reaction in Java regarding the most important Indonesian Buddhist structure, Borobudur. Miksic writes: "By 1700 the Javanese seem to have forgotten that Borobudur had been constructed by their ancestors."[123]

Unlike in Java, where efforts of the state, scholars, and the tourism industry have transformed Borobudur into perhaps the most important *pusaka* from ancient times, the antiquities of Sumatra have received little such attention. Some of the temples at Padang Lawas, once excavated, were intentionally reburied in an effort to conserve them. In some ways the Heruka image has suffered a similar but even sadder fate.

Despite reports to the contrary, the image did not disappear without a trace. In 1998 while visiting Padang Lawas, I went to the small site museum

(a dusty warehouse) at Biaro Bahal I. It was a true charnel house of images, with headless statues, *stambhas* standing upside down, and numerous architectural fragments. After looking at the Archaeological Service photograph of Heruka, the caretaker *(juru kunci)* said that the image had indeed vanished *(hilang).* Yet soon we had recovered part of the base, the lower left calf, the left hand, and the head of the statue (figs. 5.26, 5.27, 5.28). These fragments, sadly, are in deplorable condition, dirty, worn, and badly needing preservation. Their condition mirrors the situation of the temples of Padang Lawas as a whole — sadly neglected by a government that does not have the money for excavation and preservation, misunderstood and perhaps feared by the local population, yet still providing a tantalizing, if fragmentary, glimpse into the fascinating past of the region.

The antiquities of Padang Lawas have suffered much irretrievable loss — ruined sanctuaries, destroyed sculpture, looted temples, and poorly preserved artifacts.[124] We find not only physical damage but also evidence of a loss of local memory and of connections to ancient history. The story of the Heruka statue from Biaro Bahal II sheds some light on the esoteric Buddhist background of Padang Lawas, but it also reveals the ways in which religion has since colored our views of the past. The discomposure of early European missionaries confronting the Batak is mirrored in the response of many early European scholars when addressing tantric Buddhism and reflects the largely Protestant background of both groups. Likewise the reaction of local Bataks to the temples today reflects the struggle of a converted people assessing the possibility of a non-Muslim past.[125]



CHAPTER SIX

The National Museum's Monumental Bhairava

THE FIRST IMAGE that one encounters when entering the hall of ancient sculpture at the Museum Nasional in Jakarta is instantly recognizable to anyone familiar with the art of South or Southeast Asia. A large stone statue of the Hindu god Gaṇeśa, the god of beginnings, greets the visitor (fig. 6.1). His long trunk swings across his body to dip into his bowl of sweetmeats. The surface of this ninth-century image from Candi Banon is smooth and shiny from the touch of the many hands of those who have passed by. Like many other Central Javanese images, it has the same basic characteristics of images of Gaṇeśa found on the Indian subcontinent. But the god's posture, seated with the soles of his fat, unelephantine feet pressed closely together, is typically Javanese.

Exiting the hall, one sees an image that poses a striking counterpoint. Unlike the Gaṇeśa, this sculpture is much more of an anomaly. It is a towering 4.41-meter-high sculpture of a demonic figure that gazes out across the open courtyard of the museum (fig. 6.2). The four-ton figure stands stiffly upright on a three-ton base decorated by eight larger-than-life human skulls. Portions of this statue, too, are worn smooth. But in this case it is the shins of the figure that have been worn into a dark slick concavity, the result of decades of use as a sharpening stone. Deep holes have been pounded into the sides of the base, indicating its use as a rice mortar (fig. 6.3). The sculpture is most often referred to as a bhairava. It is not only the largest image in the museum's collection, but the largest finished statue ever found in Indonesia.[1] If one stands next to the bhairava as it is currently displayed at the museum, the height of the base alone reaches one's waist, and the figure's knees are slightly above one's head. This angle of vision makes the eight skulls encircling the base seem unusually large, and they are in fact almost twice life size. A tremendous expense must have gone into carving such an enormous figure and its base from two gigantic



FIGURE 6.1. Gaṇeśa, eighth–ninth century, from Candi Banon, Central Java, h 1.4 m, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 186b

slabs of stone. Looking at this unique image, one immediately questions the statue's identity, monumentality, demonic nature, and provenance.

In contrast to Gaṇeśa's familiar iconography, this rare bhairava resists easy categorization. Although much about the image would suggest an East Javanese provenance, the statue was in fact found in West Sumatra, in a remote region near the village of Sungai Langsat. The site, along the upper Batang Hari River, has never been heavily populated. The region most likely served as an important conduit for the transport of goods between the mountainous interior and the coast. The river itself may have been an important source of gold for the early Sumatran kingdoms; today villagers can still be seen panning for gold along the banks. Recent excavations are continuing to unearth archaeological remains that will undoubtedly reveal more about the early history of this region.

This chapter places the monumental bhairava statue within the context of other demonic sculpture from Indonesia. By looking closely at the provenance

of the statue, I will show the unique ways in which this statue stands both within and outside the tradition of East Javanese sculpture. Finally, I discuss the issue of patronage, especially how and why this image has become so closely linked with its presumed patron, the West Sumatran king Ādityawarman. In doing so, I will explore the possible reasons for the production of the statue, as well as the continued significance of the image in Indonesia today.

The Statue

The bhairava stands on the naked corpse of an ascetic lying on a small and badly damaged lotus cushion on top of the semicircular base of the statue (fig. 6.4). The ascetic lies supine, with his arms by his sides and his knees bent so that his calves are flattened beneath his thighs. His genitals poke out on the left side of the statue, while his finely carved head rests on the right. The figure is bare of any jewelry, but it has long earlobes and thinly striated hair that is parted in the middle then swept up like the crest of a wave at the back of his head. He has a mustache, a long curly beard, and a large round dot on the middle of his forehead. The thick, stubby feet of the bhairava cover the entire bulk of the ascetic's torso. These feet, with rings on the largest and smallest toes, seem to wrap slightly around the edge of the corpse below them, as if to help the bhairava balance precariously on so small a figure. The thick mass of the bhairava's feet contrast with the bearded figure's tiny flattened feet, which squeeze out, soles upward, from underneath his own folded body (fig. 6.4).

The bhairava is relatively simply clad. A sarong with a diamond pattern covers his thighs. Within each diamond is a delicately etched skull resting on a sickle moon (fig. 6.5). This pattern has been referred to as a *candrakapāla* (moon-skull) or "death's-head with fangs" (from the Dutch *doodskop met slagtanden*).[2] On either side of his waist, a sash is tied in a large bow, the ends of which flow down to the sides of his calves. An elaborate belt, with looping strands of pearls and a large *kāla* buckle, cinches his sarong. More strands of pearls fall from the mouth of the *kāla* and culminate in a small bell resting above the bhairava's knees.

One unusual feature is the shortness of the figure's sarong, which is uncommon in Javanese sculpture, but can be found on some guardian figures. An image of Mahākāla from Singasari is a good example; his thick, smooth calves and unadorned ankles stand out starkly beneath the curving swathes of his scarves (fig. 6.6). In sharp contrast, the sarong of the national museum's bhairava exposes the thick, curly hair of his calves. The bhairava's arms and chest are also covered with intricately carved swirling hair, a unique characteristic



FIGURE 6.2. Bhairava (same as i.1), mid-fourteenth century, Padang Roco (Sungai Langsat), West Sumatra, h 4.14 m, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 6470



FIGURE 6.3. Side view of figure 6.2

of this statue (fig. 6.7).[3] Wild, unruly hair usually indicates the fierce nature of an image; many guardian figures have thick, twirling locks that spread out like a halo behind their heads.

The sculpture's ankles, wrists, upper arms, and ears are adorned with snakes, most of which are now headless. His upper body is mostly bare, with the exception of a wide cloth swath that hangs vertically from the left shoulder to the right hip. A small band crosses the figure at midchest, and a large ornate necklace hangs below the three folds of his neck. In contrast to the bulk of his torso, the bhairava's nipple is delicately carved to resemble a deli-



FIGURE 6.4. Detail of figure 6.2 (ascetic)

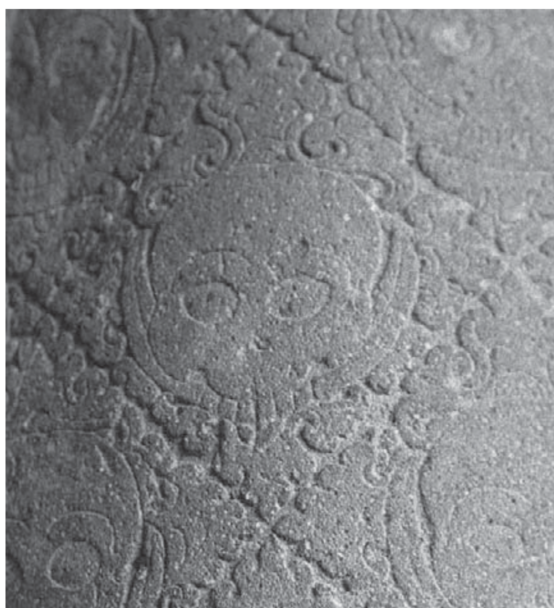


FIGURE 6.5. Detail of figure 6.2 (pattern on sarong)

cate, thin-petaled flower. Both of his hands are held in front of his waist; the left holds a short dagger, the right, a skull cup.

The bhairava's face has borne considerable damage, and its features are highly eroded (fig. 6.8). The magnificent diadem and headdress remain, towering half a meter above the figure's head. His diadem, long tresses, and pointed ear ornaments, as well as the delicately sculpted hairline, have counterparts in Singasari statues. An image of Sudhanakumāra from Candi Jago is illustrative





FIGURE 6.6. *(Left)* Mahākāla, ca. 1300, Candi Singasari, East Java, h 1.74 m, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, inv. no. 1403-1624

FIGURE 6.7. *(Below)* Bhairava, arm of figure 6.2

of the many similarities between the figures (see fig. 4.10). On both figures the curving hairline is etched with greater intricacy than most statues of this period and is reminiscent of the hairlines painted on grooms in modern-day wedding ceremonies in Java and Bali. Above the hairline is a broad diadem made up of several thin decorative bands. Evenly spaced along the top of the crown are three triangular points that rise above the diadem. Damage to the bhairava has smashed two of these forms. Large triangular ornaments jut strikingly up above the ears. This feature of the headdress is also still found today in the regalia of the members of the *kratons* in Central Java.

The arrangement of the headdress above the crown is different on each statue. Sudhanakumāra's headdress is of ovoid form and decorated by intri-



FIGURE 6.8. Bhairava, head of figure 6.2

cately carved bands of pearls, flowers, and swirling leaves. The bhairava, in contrast, has an enormous bulbous headdress, which rises like a second head from a floral band just above the diadem. Uneven thin striations seem to depict hair that has been gathered up into a huge bun. In a triangular niche amidst the hair is a small image of the Akṣobhya Buddha.[4]

Another marked difference between the two images is facial expression. In contrast to the serene countenance and downcast glance of Sudhanakumāra, the bhairava's large eyes bulge from his head; and although his face is damaged, there are remnants of small fangs poking from the sides of his mouth. Early archaeological accounts describe a third vertical eye on his forehead, but today there is no trace of it.[5] His face and hairstyle resemble those of a different statue from Candi Jago, an image of the demonic god Hayagrīva (see fig. 4.9).[6] This image too has wide eyes, curling feathery eyebrows, a mustache, and a similar, though not as large, upswept coiffure. But the monumental bhairava lacks the characteristic fat belly, tiger skin, and *mudrās* of Hayagrīva.

The back slab of the sculpture is largely plain, but above the bhairava's shoulders a flaming aureole frames the figure's head and headdress. Within this halo a single scarf is carved floating upward alongside the bhairava's face. On the upper right side of the stele a small sun is lightly carved. The left side

of the back slab is missing; presumably a second scarf and a small image of a moon or another sun would have been carved there. Other Indonesian statues of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries feature these motifs.

The Buddhist bhairava is unique in its combination of monumentality, delicate workmanship, religious iconography, and demonic attributes, yet many of these features individually can be found in East Javanese sculpture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. While the exact identity of the Sumatran image may always remain mysterious, clues to its meaning can be found by examining a series of diverse sculptures from East Java.

Demonic Imagery in East Java

During the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries one finds a marked increase in demonic imagery in Javanese sculpture. In some cases this constituted an amplification of threatening features on images that were already considered intimidating, such as guardian figures. In other cases, deities that had previously been depicted in pacific forms took on fear-inspiring attributes. And finally, we see the production of a new class of terrifying deities that reflect the development of esoteric religious practices.

Guardian Figures

In its size and fierce nature, the bhairava is in some ways similar to the giant guardian figures from temple complexes in Central and East Java. This monumental type of *dvārapāla* is found in pairs guarding the entrances to the courtyards of temple complexes.[7] Their corpulent figures are typically posed kneeling, holding clubs or other weapons. One can trace a definite progression in their demonic characteristics.[8] Some Central Javanese guardians, like those from Candi Plaosan, are imposingly large and have fierce countenances, but wear conventional jewelry (fig. 6.9). Later *dvārapālas,* from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have fierce expressions, with bulging eyes, exposed fangs, unruly hair, and skull motifs in their jewelry. Perhaps the best examples of this type of guardian figure are the monumental statues from Candi Singasari near Malang in East Java (fig. 6.10).

These 3.5-meter-high figures are decorated with snakes and skulls. Their round eyes protrude, and fangs jut from the sides of their mouths. Both lean on massive clubs, and one holds his right hand with two fingers raised in a threatening gesture. Although they are imposing, there is also something subservient about these huge guardians as they lean down on one gigantic knee.



FIGURE 6.9. Dvārapāla, ninth century, Candi Plaosan, Central Java

A second common type of *dvārapāla* can be found in paired images of Nandīśvara and Mahākāla usually situated to the left and right of the main cella of a Śaivite temple (fig. 6.11). These figures are considered both guardians of the temple and manifestations of Śiva himself. In Central Javanese and early East Javanese sculpture, both *dvārapāla* stand and carry weapons, but they are otherwise distinct in appearance. Nandīśvara is the more pacific figure. Although he bears a trident, it is often seen behind him, rather than in his hand. Mahākāla, in contrast, is much fiercer; he has unruly hair and bears a club.[9] Both figures are typically posed with a slightly jutting hip, or with legs



FIGURE 6.10. Dvārapāla, ca. 1300, Singasari, East Java, h 3.7 m

slightly splayed, and with one arm leaning on a weapon. Others are smaller than the main object of worship, and sometimes lean slightly in the direction of the entrance to the main cella of the temple.

Standing *dvārapālas* are also found in late-Majapahit sculpture, but at that time distinctions between Nandīśvara and Mahākāla were no longer made. Paired guardians from this period often have demonic characteristics and stand on skull bases. Although the bhairava from the Jakarta museum bears similarities to both types of *dvārapāla,* it is clear that he belongs to neither category. His size as well as his stiff and regal pose indicates that he was mostly likely the central object of worship and not a subservient guardian.

Gaṇeśa Images

After the juxtaposition of the Buddhist bhairava with the Gaṇeśa statue from Candi Banon at the beginning of this chapter, it might seem odd to explore further comparisons with the elephant god. Although few similarities exist with the Central Javanese image, it is surprising how many are apparent when one looks at some East Javanese renditions of the deity.

Standing upon the skull-covered base, the national museum's bhairava holds a knife and a skull cup in his two hands, and his checkered sarong is also incised with a delicate pattern of skulls. The prevalence of a skull motif can also be found on a number of Gaṇeśa images from the region near Malang.[10] These statues mark a change from Central Javanese Gaṇeśas that were never depicted with demonic characteristics. Dawee Daweewarn writes, "The use of skull ornaments in the representations of Gaṇeśa images is a purely Javanese conception. This happened because of Gaṇeśa's association with Śiva, who, in the form of Bhairava, wears a garland of skulls *(kapāla-mālā).*"[11] Despite this assertion, at least one image of a skull-adorned Gaṇeśa has been reported in India.[12]

These East Javanese sculptures of Gaṇeśa are particularly intriguing because they are large-scale images that have many other similarities with the Jakarta museum bhairava. In Java at least six such statues have been found. The most famous of these sculptures is the Singasari Gaṇeśa, currently in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden (fig. 6.12). The image was found in the east chamber of the main temple at Singasari. This magnificent statue is over a meter and a half tall and, unlike most Javanese images of the god, sits in *mahārājalīlāsana*. His bent leg brings his right knee forward, emphasizing the motif on his sarong, an alternating pattern of skulls and *kāla* heads (fig. 6.13).[13] The attributes of the statue are somewhat unusual: instead of holding part of his broken-off tusk and a bowl of sweets, Gaṇeśa's lower two hands each hold skull cups. His elaborate jewelry is also encrusted with skulls. The base of the statue is decorated with eleven huge skulls, and two rayed sun shapes are carved on either side of the top of the back slab. A second Gaṇeśa found at Singasari, now at the National Museum of Thailand in Bangkok, also displays many of these terrifying characteristics (fig. 6.14). A third image now in Boro (Bara), East Java, features a skull base, but is stylistically quite different (fig. 6.15).[14]

Two relatively rare images of Gaṇeśa in a standing posture, however, bear striking similarities to the Buddhist bhairava.[15] The statues from Karangkates and Mount Semeru are very large (2.75 and 1.61 meters respectively), and both



FIGURE 6.11. The door guardians Nandīśvara (left) and Mahākāla (right), eighth–ninth century, Central Java, h 79 cm, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco

exhibit some of the same demonic features as the bhairava, with skull motifs in the jewelry and scarves (figs. 6.16, 6.17).[16] The Karangkates image stands on a base that is fit into a larger skull-encircled socle; the shape of the Semeru statue indicates that it probably originally also had a skull base. The Karangkates statue was discovered beneath a banyan tree overlooking the banks of the Konto River, while, as its name indicates, the second statue was found on the slopes of Java's highest mountain. No remnants of a temple were found at either site, and it is presumed the statues were set in open-air structures.[17]



FIGURE 6.12. *(Above)* Gaṇeśa, ca. 1300, Candi Singasari, East Java, h 54 cm, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden



FIGURE 6.13. *(Right)* Gaṇeśa, sarong of figure 6.12





FIGURE 6.14. *(Above)* Gaṇeśa, ca. 1300, Candi Singasari, East Java, National Museum, Bangkok, inv. no. SRIVIJ01

FIGURE 6.15. *(Left)* Gaṇeśa, 1239 (possibly recarved later), Boro (Bara) (moved from Jimbé), East Java, h 1.7 m



FIGURE 6.16. Gaṇeśa, fourteenth century, Mt. Semeru, East Java, h 1.59 m, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden

Both images originally stood at important geographical sites, where they may have been erected because of the god's reputation as a remover of obstacles and protector of journeys.[18]

Of the two images, the standing Gaṇeśa from Karangkates bears more similarities to the monumental standing bhairava. It is a huge statue, almost three meters high, standing stiffly upon a base decorated with nine oversized human skulls. His sarong shows faint traces of a checkered skull pattern and is bunched in large bows on either side of the statue's hips. His four hands hold two skull bowls, an axe, and a rosary. Symbols of the sun and the moon are carved in low relief on either side of his pudgy headdress. Although not as colossal as the Buddhist bhairava, he evokes a similar feeling of awe from the viewer. There are some differences, though, in the treatment of the cloth-



FIGURE 6.17. Gaṇeśa, fourteenth century, Karangkates, East Java, h 2.68 m

ing on each statue. The sarong and scarves of the Gaṇeśa image flare out in a plethora of stylized folds, a feature found on many late-fourteenth-century Javanese statues.

Three interpretations of this unusual skull iconography have been proposed. P. H. Pott correlated the increase in demonic characteristics in these images with the tantric leanings of the Singasari court. According to him, the skull base of the statues most likely represented the cremation ground. He writes that the "Indian texts from which these representations derive have not yet been established with exactitude," but suggests that tantric works should be investigated.[19] Edi Sedyawati, on the other hand, looks to indigenous East Javanese literature to find an explanation of the terrifying characteristics of Gaṇeśa.[20] Gaṇeśa was described differently in court and noncourt literature, in the former as a warrior, and in the latter as a savior and magician. Sedyawati argues that the emphasis on Gaṇeśa's demonic characteristics may be derived from the Kaḍiri-period text, the *Smaradahana,* which portrays Gaṇeśa as a fierce and ferocious warrior.

Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer has also written about this and other Gaṇeśa images that exhibit demonic traits.[21] She notes the limitations of both of the above interpretations. Despite their frightening ornamentation, the Gaṇeśas all have rather pacific countenances, and do not strictly follow the description in the *Smaradahana.* Scheurleer suggests that the emphasis on skull imagery might derive from the important role of the skull in ancestor worship throughout the archipelago. A specific reference to images of Gaṇeśa being interpreted as an ancestral figure is found in the Old Javanese text the *Korawasrama,* which "states that a stone likeness of his [Gaṇeśa's] body can be seen as the prime ancestor, before which many people make curses and take oaths, so that all their wishes might be granted (V.3.1)."[22] Lunsingh Scheurleer's interpretation suggests that during the East Javanese period, images of Indian gods began to take on the characteristics of indigenous deities, particularly apotropaic features. I think Lunsingh Scheurleer is correct in seeing these "demonic" images as a localization of these deities, but the reasons for this trend are not clear.

Other Bhairava Images

Although the monumental bhairava does share remarkable stylistic similarities with these giant statues, it also bears comparison to another important statue from the Singasari region, an exquisitely carved sculpture today in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden (fig. 6.18.) This 1.67-meter-high fig-



FIGURE 6.18. Bhairava, ca. 1300, from Candi Singasari, East Java, h 1.67 m, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, inv. no 1403-1680



FIGURE 6.19. Detail of figure 6.18

ure holds a knife and a skull cup and stands upon a pedestal encircled by eight large skulls that is remarkably similar to that of the National Museum image. The exact identity of this image is not known (the inscription behind the image is incomplete), but it is generally referred to as a bhairava.[23]

The Singasari bhairava stands in an active pose, with legs splayed to expose his uncovered genitals. He is naked with the exception of his jewelry, and is perhaps supposed to be covered with ash. Besides the knife and skull cup, he holds a trident and a drum, indicating an association with Śiva. The bhairava wears a garland of freshly severed heads, a belt of seven bells, and a crown covered with skulls. Beneath him we can see his mount, a grinning jackal that wears a matching severed head on a chain around his neck (fig. 6.19). An inscription in Nāgarī script on the upper left side of the back slab reads *cakra-cakra*.[24] The right side of the slab has been broken, so it is impossible to tell whether the inscription continued, but if other sculptures of this period are a model, it is likely that it did. This sculpture has been described as a "Bhairawa, a demonic form a Śiva, or its Buddhist counterpart Mahākāla."[25] An iconographically similar but stylistically different statue of Vaṭuka-Bhairava was found in peninsular Thailand. The Thai image's third eye and trident indicate a definite affiliation with Śiva.[26]



FIGURE 6.20. Pārvatī and retinue, ca. 1300, East Java, Candi Singasari, h 2.15 m

A further clue to the Singasari statue's religious affiliation comes from two other sculptures, composed of multiple figures, each including a much smaller replica of the bhairava. Both of these complex statues contain a number of acolytes surrounding a central deity. The first of these sculptures, a 2.15-meter-high image that still stands on the grounds of the Singasari temple, shows a group of seven figures (fig. 6.20). The head and upper torso of the central figure are badly damaged.[27] Her upper two arms are missing, and the lower two appear to have once met in front of her stomach, but it is impossible to tell the *mudrā*. Finely detailed carving remains on parts of the statue, including the *kāla*-shaped belt buckle, reminiscent of that of the national museum bhairava.

On either side of the central deity stand two figures half her size with hands in the *añjali mudrā*. Above them, on each side of the upper torso of the main figure, are four much smaller images, all of which have been substantially dam-





FIGURE 6.21. *(Above)* Pārvatī and retinue, detail of figure 6.20, showing Gaṇeśa

FIGURE 6.22. *(Right)* Pārvatī and retinue, detail of figure 6.20, showing Bhairava

aged. One can barely discern that the image on the left is Gaṇeśa (fig. 6.21). The protruding stomach, one floppy ear, and an arm holding an axe are the only clear attributes. Above the Gaṇeśa on the upper right is another seated figure of which only the lower body remains. Blom identifies it as Śiva, in the guise of a guru, because of the vessel on the figure's left side.[28] On the right the lower image is clearly a bhairava, holding a trident and seated upon a jackal (fig. 6.22), very similar to the much larger image previously discussed. Above the bhairava is the final figure of the group, a twelve-armed figure seated on a

peacock, evidently representing Kārttikeya. This grouping of figures has led scholars to identify the central figure as Pārvatī, thus firmly placing the bhairava in a Śaivite context.

The second sculpture with a small replica of the Singasari bhairava is even more interesting, and sadly, more damaged (see fig. 5.25).[29] It was also found in the village of Ardimulyo near Singasari, about two kilometers north of the main temple. The central and largest of the three depicted figures is Cāmuṇḍī, a demonic form of Devī.[30] She is depicted as an eight-armed female who is seated with one leg drawn up upon two prone human corpses. Her face has been completely obliterated. Part of a necklace of skulls remains draped around her shoulders, and her five remaining arms hold a skull cup, a serpent noose, a bow, a sword, and the head of a victim. A trident appears above her right shoulder.

On her right is a small image of a squatting Gaṇeśa, holding a skull cup and wearing a short sarong (fig. 6.23). He stands upon a pedestal of skulls and has a skull and crescent moon in his headdress. On the left of the central image is a small replica of the Singasari bhairava, also upon a skull pedestal and leaning back against his jackal mount (fig. 6.24). Although the image is badly damaged, the trident, necklace of skulls, and fierce demeanor are easily distinguishable. A rocky landscape is depicted across the top of the sculpture. Above the Gaṇeśa there is a small image of a figure riding a fish.[31]

The presence of images of Gaṇeśa and bhairava on either side of Cāmuṇḍī solidify the connection between this statue and the previously discussed composite sculpture, which appears to depict the more pacific form of Devī, Pārvatī. It is clear that both pieces depict the bhairava in a Hindu milieu, as an acolyte of some form of Devī. All of the bhairava statues discussed above indicate that a tendency toward demonic imagery was evident in a Śaivite context from at least the thirteenth century. Although the Jakarta bhairava fits into a tradition of demonic imagery, along with the *dvārapāla,* Gaṇeśa, and Śivaite bhairavas, it also stands clearly outside this tradition. It does not have the Śivaite attributes of the "Cakracakra" bhairava from Singasari. No known texts help identify the statue, and it seems the general term "Buddhist bhairava" is the best way to characterize the image.

Inscriptional and textual evidence tells us of bhairava worship in Java during the Majapahit dynasty.[32] The Bhairawapakṣa or bhairava sect is mentioned in a series of mid-fourteenth-century copperplates found in Bendosari in East Java.[33] The inscriptions list several officials who are followers of the various sects including Buddhist, Śivaite, and Bhairawapakṣa. The Sekar inscription, also of East Java, similarly refers to various religious groups including





FIGURE 6.23. *(Above)* Camundī, detail of figure 5.25, showing Gaṇeśa

FIGURE 6.24. *(Right)* Camundī, detail of figure 5.25, showing Bhairava

the Bhairawapakṣa.[34] Priests of the *bherawapaksa [sic]* are also described in a much more elaborate manner in the sixteenth- or early-seventeenth-century Javanese text the *Tantu Panggelaran*.[35] Devotees are depicted meditating in graveyards, eating flesh, and drinking blood. It is significant that they are referred to in this text as Bhairawasiwapaksa, indicating a Śivaite association.[36]

It has been suggested that the monumental bhairava was a product of the syncretism between Buddhist and Hindu beliefs, but there is no hard evi-

dence for this supposition. A few examples of demonic forms of Śiva with an image of a Buddha in his headdress have been found in other regions in South and Southeast Asia. Marie Thérèse de Mallmann includes images of two such deities, one from Tibet and one from mainland Southeast Asia, in her article "Divinités hindoues dans le tantrisme bouddhique."[37] Both statues have an Amitābha Buddha in their headdress and are identified as Maheśvara as described in the late-eleventh-century *Niṣpannayogāvali*.[38] The monumental bhairava in the Jakarta museum differs from these images in significant ways. For one, it bears an image of Akṣobhya, rather than Amitābha, in its headdress; thus it is unlike the images of Maheśvara discussed by Mallmann. Second, its attributes are not in any way specifically Śivaite. Although early accounts described the image as having a third eye, it appears that they may have been mistaken, as there is no trace of one today.

In some cases the demonic imagery of the previously discussed Hindu statues not only served an apotropaic purpose, but also had connections to ideas about death and redemption. According to some tantric practices, the graveyard was the site of salvation and deliverance. Was the same tendency seen in Buddhist art of this period? Literary sources from manuscripts such as the *Sutasoma* do confirm this, but few demonic sculptures remain that are distinctively Buddhist. In this regard the monumental image from the Jakarta museum is unique. The Buddhist nature of the Jakarta bhairava may be explained in part by an investigation of its provenance and its presumed patron.

Provenance

The physical characteristics of the national museum's bhairava would lead one to suspect that it was made in East Java. The intricate carving, especially of the jewelry and in the delicate patterning of the fabric of the sarong, is reminiscent of the famous Prajñapāramitā found near Singasari. The skull pedestal is virtually identical to those of the bhairava and Gaṇeśa from Singasari. Some of the attributes that have been traditionally used (and subsequently questioned) in the dating of images, such as the presence of lotuses in vases or the number of pearl strands in the *upavīta,* are missing in this statue.[39] But other aspects of the statue point to a later, Majapahit-era date: the flaming nimbus, the high floating scarf, and the stiff pose are reminiscent of fourteenth-century sculpture from East Java.

In fact, the bhairava was not found in Java at all but unearthed in 1906 on a high bluff above the Batang Hari River near Sungai Langsat in West Sumatra

(fig. 6.25). In a 1939 article, F. M. Schnitger, the leader of several Sumatran archaeological expeditions, described the statue and the decision of the Netherlands government to "bring this image into the inhabited world" (by which he meant the zoological gardens at the Dutch Fort de Kock):

> Ages ago the colossal image had been erected for eternity; now three hundred coolies toiled to lower it with thick cables from the high bank. In the river below a sturdy raft lay ready to receive the massive stone. One's thoughts went back through the centuries to the time when an army of engineers and workmen pushed the sacred image to the river's brink. They must have thought that the statue might break and the angry god descend in a flaming cloud to destroy them all.[40]

Schnitger's language shows the awe of the colonial archaeologist when regarding this huge and terrifying image (fig. 6.26). It also reflects a certain romanticism about the statue and its past. Like many of Schnitger's descriptions, this account is imaginative and impressionistic, yet the picture he evokes also raises some legitimate questions about the image and its manufacture. Who carved this statue and how did it get to this isolated region? Far fewer ancient religious images, in stone or bronze, have been found in Sumatra than in Java. Thus it is at first curious that such a huge and finely carved statue should be discovered in a desolate region along the banks of the Batang Hari. The size of the statue alone makes it unlikely that the image was imported from afar. Stylistically it seems to have no immediate counterparts in Sumatra.

An important step in understanding this image can come from returning to the site where it was unearthed, near Sungai Langsat in West Sumatra. Many scholars have puzzled about its presence at this site, where only one other significant piece of ancient stone sculpture has been found, a statue of Amoghapāśa that is discussed in chapter 4. An inscription indicates that the Amoghapāśa statue was in fact sent from Java in the thirteenth century. Today the region near the border of the provinces of West Sumatra and Jambi is still remote, and it is easy to understand why archaeologists in the past viewed it as desolate. Recent excavations, though, are changing our picture of this area and of ancient Sumatran art history. Currently there are several sites in West Sumatra under excavation, and local archaeologists believe that there are perhaps dozens more still hidden under the dense foliage.

There is no trace of any temple that might have housed the bhairava image, but the prominent Indonesian archaeologist R. Soekmono suggests that the statue may have been placed instead upon an open-air platform, much like the Gaṇeśa images previously discussed.[41] In fact, Schnitger did report find-

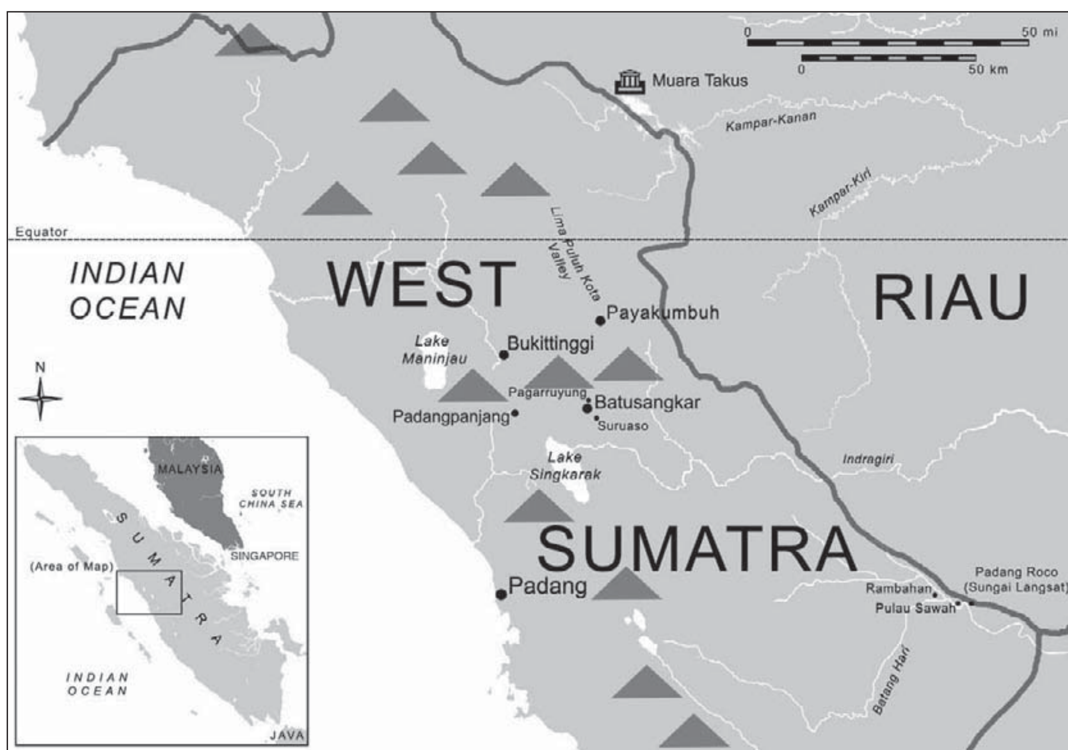


FIGURE 6.25. West Sumatra

ing a twenty-meter-square brick structure to the northwest of the image and undertook excavation in the 1930s,[42] but jungle vines soon covered Schnitger's efforts. Sixty years later new excavations were begun by staff of the Indonesian archaeological service. Those workers uncovered three separate structures less than five hundred meters from the site where the bhairava was discovered.[43] These brick structures, known as Candi Padang Roco I, II, and III, are in an elevated area that is today surrounded by rubber and coffee plantations.[44]

The largest of the temples, Candi Padang Roco I, measures 20.5 by 20.5 meters. It is oriented toward the southwest and is square with projections on all four sides. A staircase appears on the southwest projection, and perhaps staircases existed on the other three sides. Candi Padang Roco II measures approximately four and a half square meters and has a similar structure. Candi Padang Roco III has a unique ground plan measuring approximately twenty by nine meters, and is divided into two rooms. One of those rooms is again divided into three concentric terraces. A fifteen-centimeter-high bronze statue of a Garuḍa-like bird[45] (perhaps some kind of a vessel) was found at this site along with as Sung, Ming, and Qing ceramics.

Besides the above-mentioned evidence of architectural structures, other

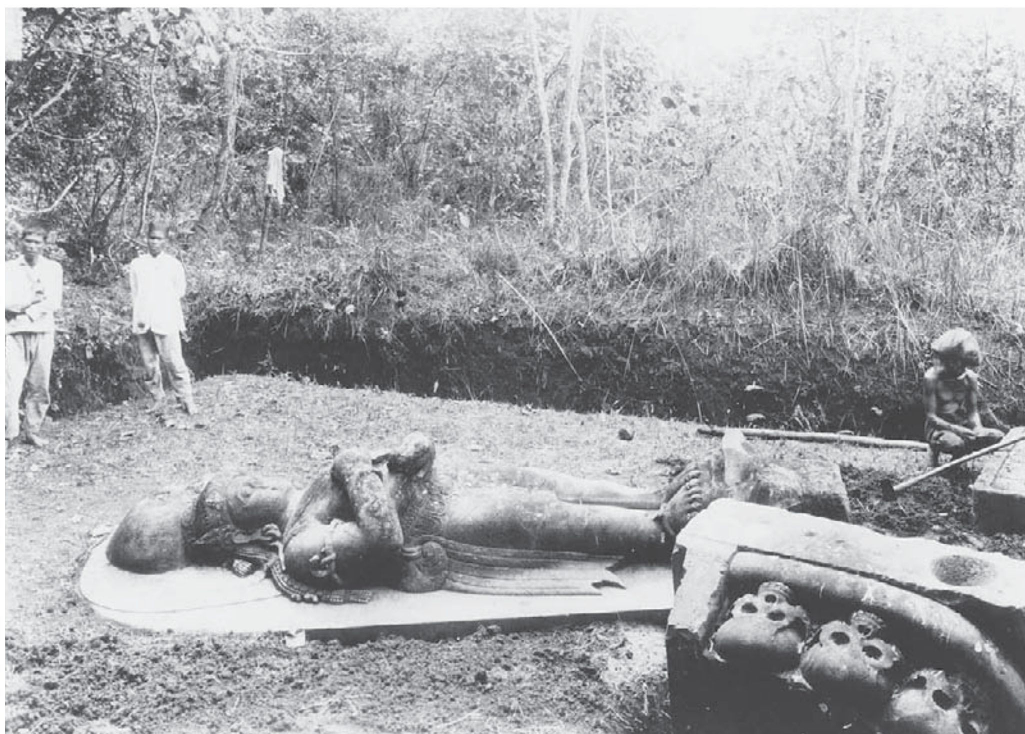


FIGURE 6.26. Bhairava (same as figure i.1), mid-fourteenth century, in situ, Padang Roco (Sungai Langsat), West Sumatra, h 4.14 m

scattered ancient remains have been found. Chinese ceramics have also been uncovered at the nearby sites of Pulau Sawah and Rawamangambe. At Pulau Sawah a brick structure that archaeologists suspect might be a bath sanctuary has been unearthed, and at least five other nearby mounds suggest there is much more to be excavated. Some stone statuary was also discovered in this region, but only tantalizing fragments remain. A finely carved pair of bare feet is all that remains of one statue that was presumably life-size when complete. The office of the Conservatory of Historical and Archaeological Remains of the Provinces of West Sumatra and Riau (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Wilayah Provinsi Sumatera Barat dan Riau) also holds some interesting fragments of stone sculpture — including the legs and shoulder of another human figure. Examples of carved or molded brickwork have also been collected. Although fragmentary, these pieces of sculpture suggest that this area was not as much of a cultural backwater as previously thought.

Archaeologists working in West Sumatra think that the ancient remains along the upper Batang Hari are the remnants of a kingdom called Dharmāśraya.[46] This belief is bolstered by the fact that the inscription on

the base of the Amoghapāśa sculpture found in this area describes the image being sent to Srī Mahārāja Srīmat Tribhuvanarāja Mauḷiwarmmadewa of Suvarṇabhūmi to be erected at Dharmāśraya for the benefit of the people of Malāyu.[47] Dharmāśraya is mentioned in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* as one of the Malāyu lands that is subject and obedient to Majapahit.[48] Evidence suggests that the capital of Malāyu changed places several times, moving from the region near Muara Jambi to the upper Batang Hari, and finally to Suruaso in the heart of Minangkabau lands.[49] This region in the interior of West Sumatra was rich in gold; although many of the sources have since been depleted, one can still see villagers today panning for gold in the shallows of the Batang Hari.[50] It is presumed that the whole island of Sumatra acquired the name Suvarṇabhūmi (gold land) or Suvarṇadvīpa (gold island) because of the precious metal exported from this region.

The exact relationship between the recently excavated sites and the two large Buddhist sculptures found in this region is still unknown. Both the Buddhist bhairava and the Amoghapāśa image do not appear to have been enclosed in any kind of structure, but may have been placed on one of the brick platforms found near the site. The Amoghapāśa image was in fact discovered several kilometers upstream from its base, indicating that the statue had been moved. As discussed in chapter 4, the back of that sculpture has a long and intriguing inscription by the Sumatran king Ādityawarman. In his inscriptions Ādityawarman called himself Kaṇakamedinīndra (sovereign of the gold land) and king of Suvarṇabhūmi, as well as Mahārājadirāja.[51] Many scholars think that it was this King Ādityawarman who was responsible for the erection of the monumental bhairava at Sungai Langsat.

Connections with the Sumatran King Ādityawarman

The similarities between the Sumatran bhairava and statues from East Java near Malang suggest that there were close connections between the two regions. The aforementioned King Ādityawarman is one of the historical figures that bridge these two islands. There are several theories regarding Ādityawarman's lineage, but most historians believe that he was the son or grandson of a Javanese nobleman and a Sumatran princess. The *Pararaton* tells of an expedition (called the *pamalayu*) to Sumatra in 1275.[52] While initially interpreted as a military offensive, this mission may have also forged a treaty with Malāyu to coalesce resistance against the Mongols. According to the *Pararaton,* troops returned from this expedition in 1292 with two Sumatran princesses who then married into the Javanese royal family.[53] The elder, Dara Petak, wed King Kṛtarajāsa

Jayawardhana, while the other, Dara Jingga, married a *dewa* (nobleman) and gave birth to a son who became king of Malāyu. This king is given the names Tuhan Janaka, Sri Marmadewa, and the consecration name Aji Mantrolot. Some scholars have proposed that this king mentioned in the *Pararaton* was Ādityawarman,[54] but Sastri and de Casparis point out that it might more plausibly have been Ādityawarman's father, who is mentioned by the name Adayawarman in another inscription.[55]

Ādityawarman left about thirty inscriptions, all but one in West Sumatra or along its borders. Unfortunately, these inscriptions are written in an odd combination of ungrammatical Sanskrit and Old Malay, and most have never been adequately translated. The severe erosion of many of the stones and the lacunae caused by fissures have also hampered efforts to understand the inscriptions. Hendrik Kern translated several of the inscriptions into Dutch in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; recently, translations have also been made into Indonesian.[56] Although they are often difficult to understand, the inscriptions do indicate that Ādityawarman was deeply involved in Buddhist rites and rituals and supported the faith through the erection of statues and temples.

Our knowledge of Ādityawarman's early life in Java comes from an inscription on an image of Mañjuśrī that was found near Candi Jago. Unfortunately, that sculpture disappeared from the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin after World War II, and only a plaster cast of it remains at the Museum Nasional, Jakarta (fig. 6.27).[57] The large statue (1.1 m high) depicts Mañjuśrī seated in the lotus position.[58] His right arm is lifted and brandishes a sword, the blade of which is hidden behind the figure's tall headdress. The left hand is held in front of the chest and holds a book *(Prajñāpāramitā).* Four smaller images of the god are duplicated and carved on each side of the central image, two at the base and two at the level of his headdress. This form of the god is called Arapancana Mañjuśrī, who is part of a *maṇḍala* with four identical minor deities.[59] Statues of this form of the god were uncommon in Java and probably were derived from a South Asian prototype.[60] The hairstyle of the figure is also unusual; the long drooping dreadlocks can be seen in Khmer reliefs of the twelfth century, but do not appear in other Javanese images.

The Mañjuśrī inscription consists of four Sanskrit lines on the front and eight on the back of the base of the statue.[61] The front describes the erection of an image of Mañjuśrī in a Jina dharma (temple ?) by Aryyawangsadhirajana in 1343 CE (1265 Śaka).[62] The inscription on the reverse of the statue proclaims that Ādityawarman was in the land of Rājapatnī, who was considered his own relative.[63] He built a great Jina dharma in Java to ease the transition of his par-



FIGURE 6.27. Mañjuśrī, plaster cast, original from Candi Jago, East Java, replica in Museum Nasional Indonesia.

ents and family from this world to the happiness of nirvana. The date is also repeated. Ādityawarman is given the position *mantri praudharara,* which is the same as *wreddhamantrī,* a Majapahit court official's title that is common in ancient inscriptions.[64]

Bosch noted the differences in size, script, and spelling between the inscription on the front and the one on the back of the statue and concluded that they were written by different people. He argued that a religious official of the Bhairava sect made the inscription on the front of the statue, while the one on the back was inscribed for Ādityawarman.[65] De Casparis has quite a different interpretation. According to him, *āryawansādhirāja* is a title with no name or function. He suggests that "the dignitary of the first verse . . . is given

a title without a name or function, whereas that of the second verse has no title, but a name . . . and a function . . . , one could argue that the two inscriptions complement one another, and could therefore apply to the same person, viz. Adityawarman, who would have erected both the Mañjuśrī image and the temple."[66] The use of Sanskrit in the inscription is another indication of Ādityawarman's patronage. Most inscriptions found in Java during the fourteenth century are written in Old Javanese, while those left by Ādityawarman in Sumatra use Sanskrit and Old Malay.

The Rājapatnī mentioned in the inscription is probably Gayatri Rājapatnī, the daughter of King Kṛtanagara and wife of his successor, King Kṛtarājasa Jayawardhana (Raden Vijaya).[67] Candi Jago was the commemorative temple built after the death of Gayatri Rājapatnī's paternal grandfather, King Wiṣṇuwardhana.[68] Thus if Ādityawarman was a relative of Rājapatnī, perhaps he too was honoring this deceased ancestor by restoring Candi Jago. Ādityawarman may not have been directly responsible for the erection of the Mañjuśrī statue, but it seems likely that he was responsible for either the commission or the reconsecration of the image and the restoration of Candi Jago in 1343 CE (1265 Śaka) before his move to Sumatra.

At Candi Jago we find another interesting link that connects Ādityawarman with the monumental bhairava image found at Sungai Langsat. At the same temple where the Mañjuśrī image was discovered is a second statue that depicts a bhairava (fig. 6.28). Schnitger describes it "with skull and dagger in his hands and with an Akṣobhya in his hair." Sadly, this statue has been badly damaged, and in the 1990s not much more than the torso remained. The image stood in the courtyard of the temple along with assorted other bits of sculpture until 2004, when it was reported stolen.[69] The head and part of the right shoulder are missing, as well as everything below the knees. Fortunately, several old photographs taken by the Oudheidkundige Dienst (Dutch Archaeological Service) remain; these show both the body with the head and the head alone (figs. 6.29, 6.30).

Some similarities with the Sumatran bhairava are immediately apparent. The figure holds in his two hands a skull cup and a short curved dagger (although the weapon is held pointing down along his right thigh, rather than in front of his chest). He has snake bracelets on his wrist and upper arms, and a cascading ringlet of hair falls down the side of his shoulder. The sashes of his sarong are tied in large bows at the sides of the waist. His large *kāla* buckle with cascading beads is almost identical to that of the Sumatran bhairava. Although very similar, the statue is not identical to the monumental image of Sungai Langsat. It is much smaller and proportionally squatter than its



FIGURE 6.28. Bhairava, Candi Jago, East Java

Sumatran cousin and displays a slight flexion indicated by a jutting right hip. There is less fine detail on the Jago image: no body hair, no skull pattern on the sarong. Other differences include a thick snake caste-cord and the remnant of a lotus plant growing on the right side of the image.

Although very degraded, the head of the image is even more interesting. It is labeled in the archaeological records as an Avalokiteśvara head, and indeed a small figure of a Buddha rests in the headdress. Much like that of the Sumatran bhairava, the headdress rises in a tall ovoid shape and is marked by thin striations. The central niche of the headdress contains an image with a lowered right hand presumably representing Akṣobhya, not Amitābha. Facial hair is another unusual attribute shared by both the Sumatran and Jago bhairavas.



FIGURE 6.29. Bhairava, Candi Jago (same as figure 6.28), in situ



FIGURE 6.30. Bhairava, head of figure 6.28

The Sumatran bhairava has both a mustache and a curly beard ringing his face. Erosion and damage make it difficult to see the facial characteristics of the Jago statue, but there are traces of a delicately striated beard. What makes the Jago bhairava truly unusual and distinct from the Sumatran sculpture is the diadem of skulls that acts as a wide band at the base of the headdress.

A comparison of the two bhairava sculptures demonstrates clear stylistic and iconographic similarities. The terrifying nature of both images indicates that the damaged Buddha image in their headdresses is most likely Akṣobhya, whose emanations are primarily demonic.[70] The exact identity of these two bhairavas remains a mystery, as the iconography does not fit the descriptions of any of the fierce emanations of Akṣobhya discussed in Bhattacharyya's *Buddhist Iconography.*[71]

Ādityawarman's Inscriptions in Sumatra

It is tempting to think that Ādityawarman erected this small statue at Jago after his renovation of the site and then the monumental image after coming to rule in Sumatra. Many scholars have described the colossal Buddhist bhairava as a portrait of Ādityawarman.[72] Although it seems likely that Ādityawarman was the patron of the Sumatran statue, whether it is a portrait is another question. The association of Ādityawarman with the Buddhist bhairava is based primarily on inscriptions left by the king in Sumatra.

The religious nature of Ādityawarman's inscriptions is striking. Many describe pious acts or refer to Buddhism, although not necessarily a tantric form. According to de Casparis, the Bukit Gombak inscription of 1356 CE that describes the erection of a *vihāra* "is drafted in the spirit of 'classical' Mahāyāna without Tantric elements: it mentions the six pāramitās and extols the *samyaksambuddhamārga,* 'the path to Complete Buddha-hood.'"[73] Another inscription of 1369 CE describes the establishment of a structure to house a pair of footprints associated with the Dīpaṁkara Buddha.[74] An undated inscription that mentions Ādityawarman's son, Ananggawarman, betrays a more esoteric character, with the words *hewajra niyasmrti,* referring to meditation upon the tantric god Hevajra.[75]

The earliest of Ādityawarman's Sumatran inscriptions is on the back of the Amoghapāśa statue, already discussed in chapter 4 (see fig. 4.29).[76] It is dated 1347 CE, just four years after the Mañjuśrī inscription in Java. According to Sastri, "The language of the inscription is a grotesque and corrupt form of Sanskrit, 'exceedingly faulty and deficient, an obvious sign of the decay of culture since the seventh century'; and though the metres employed are com-

plex and fairly regular, the meaning of much of the inscription is obscure, and there is not lack of cabalistic expressions."[77]

Indeed, much of the inscription is confusing and obscure; it is only partially intelligible. Ādityawarman is highly praised under the names of Udayādityawarman, Udayawarmagupta, and once as Rājendra maulimāli varmmadeva mahārājadhirāja, a term very similar to the name on the 1286 inscription on the separated base of the Amoghapāśa statue. He is described as consecrating a Buddha statue under the name of Gagaṇagañja.[78] The next line of the inscription states that the erection of the image of Amoghapāśa by Ādityawarman was for the well-being of all beings. Kern has interpreted Gagaṇagañja to be an epithet for Amoghapāśa, although there is no textual evidence for this that I know of.

The inscription is significant because it tells us that only four years after his move/return to Sumatra, Ādityawarman reconsecrated the Amoghapāśa statue.[79] His doing so was a pious act, a way of accruing merit that was made even more permanent by his memorializing the event. It also was a political statement. By using the same title to describe himself as the king to whom the statue was sent sixty-one years earlier, Ādityawarman legitimized his rule by placing himself into an established lineage in Sumatra. At the same time he aligned himself with the Javanese realm from whence it was sent.[80] And finally, he associated himself with the god represented, in both this inscription and the Kubu Rajo inscription in which he is called an avatar of Śrī Lokeśvara.[81]

While the Amoghapāśa inscription demonstrates the importance of statuary from the very beginning of Ādityawarman's reign, it does not have any clear connection to the monumental bhairava statue. Another important inscription, known as Prasasti Saruaso I (1297 Śaka or 1375 CE), has been interpreted as describing the king's initiation as a bhairava, and thus has been used to support the argument that the Sungai Langsat bhairava is a portrait statue of Ādityawarman. As with all of his inscriptions, Prasasti Saruaso I is difficult to interpret. It consists of four lines inscribed upon two sides of a cubical stone. Kern transcribed the passage, noting that "nearly each word contains an error":[82]

bhuh karṇṇe nava-darçaçane Saka gate Jeṣṭhe çaçi Manggale / sukle ṣaṣṭithir nṛpottamaguṇair [r] Ādittyavarmmanṛpaḥ / kṣettrajñaḥ racito Viçesadharaṇīnāmnā surāvāçavān hāçāno nṛpa āsanottamasadā khādyam pivan nissabhā // puṣpakoṭisahāçrāni / teṣāṁgandham pṛthak-pṛtak / Ādittyavarmmabhūpāla- / homagandho samo bhavet //[83]

The first part of the inscription gives the date 1297 Śaka (1375 CE) in the form of a *candrasangkala* (chronogram).[84] A rough translation of the rest of the passage would read as follows: In the month of Jyaisṭha, on Tuesday, in the light half of the sixth day, King Ādityawarman, ruler of Suravasa, was made a Kṣetrajña under the name of Visesadharani, eating delicacies, sitting as king on a lofty throne, outside the palace. Thousands of ten million numbers of flowers spread their odor everywhere; the odor of the Ādityawarman's offerings is incomparable.[85] The Dutch scholar J. Moens interpreted the passage in quite a different manner. He believed that the event described by Kern was too simple to have been memorialized, and that the significance of the inscription was hidden. According to Moens, if Kern had known more about the "final phase" of Buddhism in India as well as Java and Sumatra, he would have been able to solve the puzzle of the inscription.[86] Moens' own translation emphasizes what he sees as the esoteric meaning of the text:

> In the year 1297 Śaka in the month of death,[87] King Ādityawarman on a field of corpses received the highest bhairawa consecration (by which he was delivered from life, bhūmityāga, made kṣetrajña) under the name of Wiçeṣadharaṇī (possessor of superior abilities to concentrate), while enthroned alone on his elevated seat (asanottama: pile of corpses), while diabolically laughing and drinking blood, while his mahāprasāda, his great human sacrifice was consumed in flames, spreading an unbearable stench, which, however, affected the initiated as the perfume of ten thousand million flowers.[88]

Much of Moens' interpretation is based on the cryptic meanings of words in the inscription. The most important of these enigmatic terms is the word *kṣetrajña*. Kern was baffled by the word, and felt that none of the known meanings of the word in Sanskrit were applicable."[89] *Kṣetra* means "landed property," "land," "soil," or sometimes, "sacred spot." In tantric Buddhism it is often associated with cemeteries. Kern suggests that the poet could be coining a word by combining *kṣetra* with *ājña,* to make a synonym for *kṣetrapāla,* or "guardian of the cemetery." Monier-Williams defines the word as a form of bhairava, a definition of which Kern was apparently unaware.[90] Moens interpreted *kṣetrajña* as meaning "the state of unification with a god that is the result of yoga exercises," especially meditation alone in a cemetery.[91]

In 1877 Kern interpreted the meaning of the phrase *surāvāçavān* as "smelling of strong liquor."[92] After learning that Suruaso was the name of the site where the inscription is located, he amended his translation to "ruler of Surāvāsa."[93] Moens, on the other hand, maintained the first interpretation.

Where Kern interpreted *hāçāno* as an incorrect spelling of *anāno* (meaning to eat), Moens reads it as a kind of demonic laughter. Likewise, Moens felt that "*khādam piwan*" or "drinking sweet syrup" should be "drinking blood." Moens concludes that the inscription describes not a royal banquet but the highest consecration rites of the king and, moreover, is "irrefutable proof of the existence of a bhairawa cult in Sumatra."[94] Most scholars have come to accept Moens' interpretation of the inscription, although I would argue that much of his translation seems overly speculative.[95]

The question remains what light the above discussion of Ādityawarman's many inscriptions throws upon our knowledge of the monumental statue of bhairava. First, the readings tell us that there is no definitive proof that the image is a portrait of Ādityawarman, or even that he erected it. Nevertheless, it does seem highly likely that he was responsible. His inscriptions attest to the importance of religion in his life, his support of temples, and his reconsecration of statues like the Mañjuśrī and Amoghapāśa sculptures. The sheer numbers of inscriptions that have survived (how many more were lost?) demonstrate his desire to make permanent his presence. Some of his donative inscriptions also fit into a long-standing Buddhist practice of recording donations in order to accrue and perpetuate merit for oneself and one's relatives.

The erection of the monumental bhairava statue served as a different kind of self-perpetuation, in this case through the construction of a colossal stone image. The question remains why the patron chose to represent a terrifying deity. One theory is that the statue acted as a type of boundary marker, to protect and repulse, to threaten enemies both near and far. In this way it belongs to the tradition of the guardian figures we began with as well as the large standing Gaṇeśa statues from Java. If the statue was a type of guardian, it is in a way a continuation of an even older custom of using stones for apotropaic purposes.

The earliest inscriptions found in Sumatra, the seventh-century oath stones, discussed in chapter 1, were sometimes inscribed with passages that extolled good deeds of the king and recorded his accumulated merit. Other examples of these stones are of a very different nature, full of imprecations against invaders and traitors (see fig. 1.1).[96] The monumental bhairava can be seen as such threat writ large, personified, deified. Erected near the end of his near thirty-year reign, the image can be seen as evidence of the power at Ādityawarman's command, but also his fear at losing that power.

De Casparis theorizes that Ādityawarman may have felt threatened by the expansionist policies of the Majapahit kingdom, but that there was also a second factor even closer to home.[97] By the mid-fourteenth century, Islam had

spread throughout much of Sumatra, starting along the coasts and making its way steadily inland. According to De Casparis, "Islam, that contradicted with the nature of the religion embraced by Ādityawarman and his palace, was perhaps considered as a danger that threatened the power of this king of a large part of the island of Sumatra."[98]

The Buddhist Bhairava and Minang Kingship

While we may never know the exact motivations behind the statue's erection, we do know something about the later importance of the monumental bhairava in formation of ideas about the past in West Sumatra. In her study of notions of royal power and political authority among the Minangkabau in West Sumatra, *A Kingdom of Words,* Jane Drakard notes that the early European visitors often described the Minang kingdom in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as being a shadow of its former glory.

> The assumption that Minangkabau rulers once governed the whole of Sumatra probably had as much to do with European, and particularly British, notions of imperial power, as it did with the extent of Minangkabau royal prestige. One of the most obvious problems with this scenario is that very little is known with certainty about the early history of the kingdom and it is difficult to identify a time when Minangkabau kings did clearly enjoy the type of power which Europeans appear to have expected. Having little to say about early Minangkabau history these authors sought to explain Minangkabau royal prestige by referring to an "ancient kingdom" about which they had no information.[99]

When William Marsden and Sir Thomas Raffles visited West Sumatra in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they had never heard of Ādityawarman (although Raffles did notice several of his inscriptions). With the subsequent translation of those inscriptions and the discovery of the monumental bhairava image, this notion of an ancient kingdom led by a dynamic king was further bolstered. Drakard herself describes Ādityawarman as "probably the first king of the Minangkabau," who was "probably considered to possess terrible powers." She writes that Ādityawarman "presented himself as a ruler who was both fearsome and benevolent and it many be that these spiritual powers were part of the source of his authority over Swarnabhūmi."[100] The monumental bhairava statue has been important in shaping this vision of Ādityawarman's reign in West Sumatra.

Ādityawarman's inscriptions are full of testimonies to his spiritual power

and its basis for his dominion over Suvarnabhūmi. Unfortunately, little evidence remains to tell to what extent his political power actually extended. Western scholars have questioned the extent to which "symbolic authority" translated into actual political power and effectiveness. Drakard's study "sets out to reconsider the assumptions about 'real power' which Europeans have applied to their understanding of kingship in Minangkabau." She argues that "the relegation of symbolic authority to a residual role, outside the ambit of 'real power' concerns, inhibits our understanding of kingship in Minangkabau and in South-East Asian history more generally."[101]

Chinese texts tell of missions to China from Ādityawarman between 1371 and 1375.[102] It is presumed that he must have died shortly thereafter. Ādityawarman's presumed thirty-year reign (as indicated from inscriptional evidence) was followed by a period of which we have little knowledge. Although one of Ādityawarman's inscriptions mentions a successor *(yauwarajya),* this crown prince did not leave independent evidence of his own reign.[103]

It seems as if some memory of the court of Ādityawarman did remain for centuries among the Minangkabau. Drakard explores the question of how "certain local understandings of the past were central to the role and meaning of Minangkabau kingship" in West Sumatra during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[104] She notes that royal houses throughout Sumatra have traced their lineages to the Minangkabau and that the Minangkabau court possessed a singular ritual and symbolic authority. Other evidence of continued respect for the court can be seen in the veneration of royal treasures *(pusaka)* both within the *alam* Minangkabau (Minang world) and outside it. A Minang *payung* (parasol) is kept in Bone, Sulawesi.[105] R. O. Winstedt described an early-twentieth-century consecration ceremony in Perak in which a sword with the same name as that of a royal Minangkabau weapon was used.

The Minangkabau dagger in question is still kept as a royal treasure (figs. 6.31, 6.32). The knife has an unusual shape: it is short, with a blade that widens in the middle before coming to a point. Bosch observed that similarly shaped weapons are depicted on the reliefs of the Majapahit temple Panataran in East Java.[106] The cloud-motif patterning on the handle was a second factor that led Bosch to date the dagger to the late fourteenth century. The most remarkable aspect of the dagger is a depiction of a bhairava on one side of the blade and a bhairavi on the other.

The heavy-set bhairava stands on a double-lotus pedestal with his legs slightly spread. In his left hand he holds a bowl, and in the right a *vajra* (or





FIGURE 6.31. Minang dagger





FIGURE 6.32. Minang dagger (reverse)

possibly the *vajra* handle of a weapon?). He appears to wear a short sarong, and a long garland of bells (or heads?) swings across his knees. His hair is pulled up into a tall bulbous headdress, with scarves flying upward on either side of his head. Bosch suggests that the bhairava is a portrait of Ādityawarman or one of his predecessors or successors.[107] After comparing the dagger to the knife held by the statue of the monumental bhairava, he suggests that it might possibly be the very weapon used by Ādityawarman in his own consecration rites.[108] The continued veneration of the dagger today gives some indication of the lasting stature of Ādityawarman in contemporary society.[109]

The Latter Days of the Bhairava

We do not know how the populace in West Sumatra in the fourteenth century saw the monumental bhairava. Did they cower, as envisioned by Schnitger, in fear that the god would descend into the statue and destroy them? Or did they largely ignore the image, and along with it the tantric Buddhist beliefs of the rulers? It is tempting to consider that the statue's iconography, while perhaps not converting the masses to tantric Buddhism, did in fact relate to indigenous beliefs concerning death and the afterlife. The importance of the skull as an artistic motif is found throughout the archipelago. Indonesians have long used statues in mediating between the realms of the living and the ancestors.

When the bhairava was unearthed by the Dutch it was found that

> [c]ertain parts of it had been exposed for years and without knowing what it was, farmers used to sharpen their knives on it, making the stone shiny in places. Four cavities can be seen to the right of the pedestal, which were used for pounding rice or herbs. In Sumatra, blocks for pounding rice indicated the social status of their owners; the more powerful the owner, the more cavities his block would have. These blocks also represented boats, and people believed that they could cause storms and floods. Any rainwater collected in the cavities was thought to have curative properties.[110]

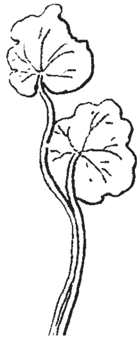
Although at first one might consider it a kind of desecration to use the statue as a sharpening stone and a rice mortar, in traditional Indonesian society, sharpening knives and pounding rice are deeply significant activities. Sharpening stones are still considered sacred in parts of Sumatra, and mortars are widely used in funerary ceremonies.

The ways that the buried bhairava image was used connects it to a perhaps another tradition of stone carving in West Sumatra, the megaliths of the Limo

Puluah Kota region. There are hundreds of megaliths in the Payakumbuh region of West Sumatra, the tallest being over two and a half meters high. Aside from the excellent studies by John Miksic, there has been little research on the meanings of these stones.[111] Among the most important of these megaliths is a group referred to as mortars *(lumpang batu).* "These mortars represent a domestic artifact of great importance, associated with the powerful female sex (since women did the pounding), and have been incorporated into Minang folklore. Legends describe uses other than rice pounding, such as house pillar supports or stepping stones to mount horses."[112]

The use of the toppled bhairava for similarly symbolic activities is a provocative indication that the villagers did indeed view the statue as an important object. Whether intended as Ādityawarman's portrait or as a guardian of his realm, the monumental bhairava sculpture has come to be imbued with many meanings. It can be compared to the early Srivijayan threat stones, marking territory and dispelling intruders. With its demonic features, it relates to a tradition of giant *dvārapāla* statues. It can be seen as a symbol of the tantric practices of the royal court, of bloody sacrifices on fields of corpses. It stands as an emblem of the king's spiritual and political power, and of his wealth.

Most scholars have described the Buddhist bhairava as a portrait of Ādityawarman, who in turn is associated with the Majapahit court of East Java. Whether or not the statue is a portrait, I would argue it is important to see it in the context of West Sumatra as well as East Java. Just as Ādityawarman was the product of both islands, so is the Buddhist bhairava. While it fits into a sculptural tradition of *dvārapāla,* Gaṇeśa, and bhairava images from Java, it must also be viewed in relation to Sumatra, with that island's traditions of megalithic sculpture and Śrīvijayan oath stones, as well as its own long history of Buddhism.



CONCLUSION

IN *Forgotten Kingdoms of Sumatra,* F. M. Schnitger, in his typically imaginative manner, describes the removal of the Buddhist Bhairawa from Sungai Langsat. "During the transportation," he writes, "a terrible storm arose and a great tree fell directly in front of the lorry, almost crushing the image in its fall. It was as if the spirit of the departed king were protesting." This short passage illustrates the impact of the colossal image on its colonial excavator. The powers he imagines the statue possessing can be compared to the spiritual power that important cultural objects *(pusaka)* in Indonesia are still thought to embody today.

All the images discussed in this book have retained a kind of magnetism; some, despite the fact they represent Buddhist deities, are still venerated in Muslim Indonesia. The initial attraction of most of these sculptures, whether demonic or pacific, is the beauty of their workmanship. But an additional factor is that many of these statues are associated with important historical personages. Inscriptional and literary evidence has pointed to connections between the Amoghapāśa and Joko Dolok statues and the kings Wiṣṇuwardhana and Kṛtanagara. With the statues of Prajñapāramitā and the Buddhist Bhairawa, although similar types of evidence are less conclusive, nonetheless these images have become closely associated with Queen Ken Dedes and King Ādityawarman.

The identification of the Singasari Prajñapāramitā with Ken Dedes was first noted when the sculpture was excavated, and remains strong today. Perhaps more than any other single statue, the image has come to represent the "golden age" of East Javanese history. The importance of the statue as a symbol of Java's past was illustrated in the outraged reaction to Jim Supangkat's mixed media sculpture *Ken Dedes* (fig. c.1), which combined the head of the Singasari statue with the body of a bare-chested woman in unzipped pants.[1]

While some critics considered Supangkat's sculpture a defilement of art and of Indonesian culture, others came to the artist's defense.[2] In the debate

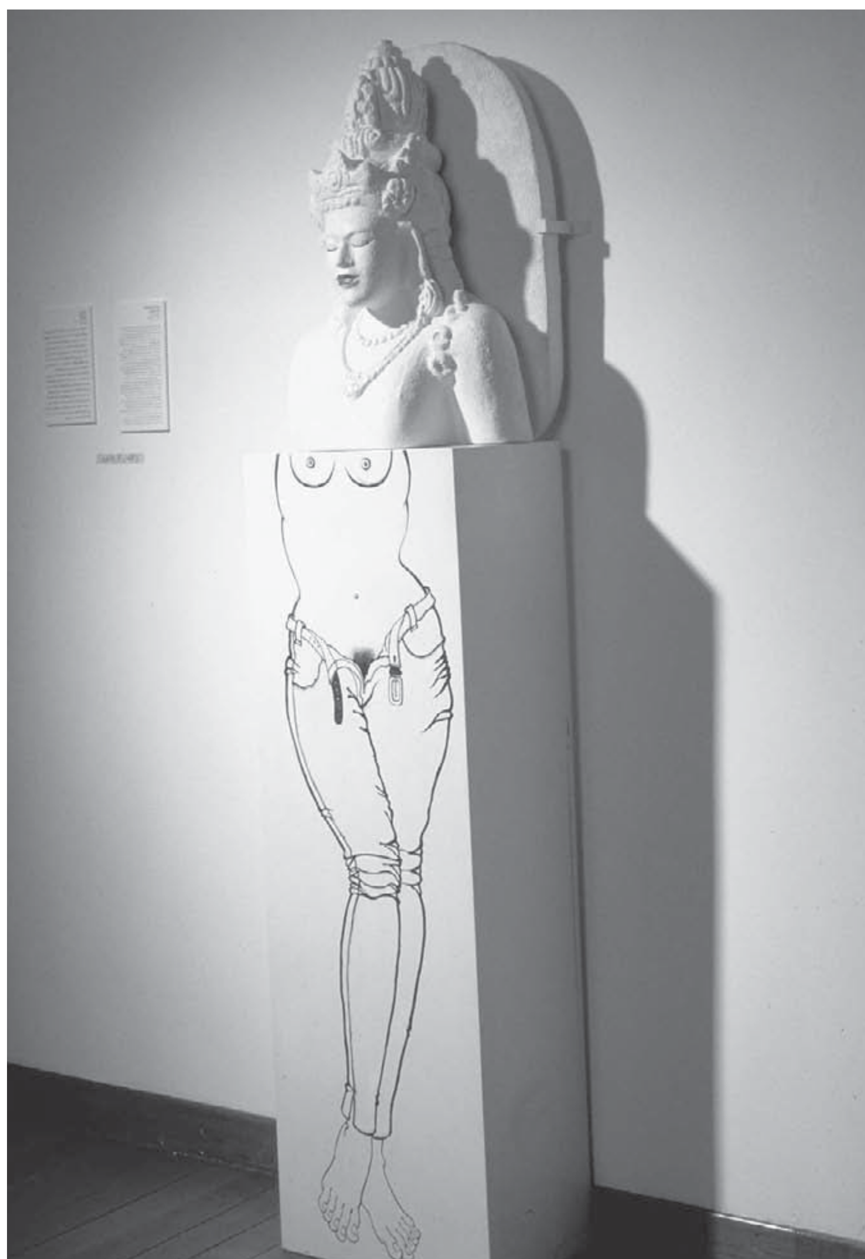


FIGURE C.1. Ken Dedes, 1975, by Jim Supangkat, mixed media, h 180 cm × w 40 cm × d 30 cm, Singapore Art Museum Collection

over *Ken Dedes,* the fact that the famous statue portrays the Singasari queen was never questioned. The critic Sudarmadji suggested that the disturbing power of Supangkat's statue came from its deliberate manipulation of the public conception of the ancient statue, an image associated with elegance and piety. Another observer saw Supangkat's *Ken Dedes* as a representation of "Indonesia's glorious past . . . joined to a contemptible present."[3] The controversy surrounding this modern sculpture reinforces the significance of the ancient statue upon which it was modeled. Supangkat's sculpture was made in the mid-1970s; shortly after its exhibition, the Singasari Prajñapāramitā was returned to Jakarta from the Netherlands. This act of repatriation was pivotal, not only as an acknowledgment of Indonesia's right to objects of its own cultural heritage, but on a larger scale as a recognition of Indonesia as a postcolonial nation.

Whether sent to and from Holland as colonial booty or to Sumatra as a palladium of an ancient East Javanese realm or to Jakarta for preservation and exhibition, all the statues discussed in this study have been moved from their original settings. These journeys have added layers of meaning to the images, often by making them pawns in larger political situations. The inscription on the base of the Joko Dolok suggests that it was reerected at a site where two ancient realms were once joined. The reconsecration of the image can be seen as a political act, a second attempt at unifying the territory.

In both the past and the present, these statues have been used by the state for purposes of legitimization. The sculpture of Amoghapāśa and his attendants that was sent from Java to Sumatra for the enjoyment of the people of Malāyu should not be seen as merely a gift. With its evocation of both the bodhisattva and the *cakravartin,* the statue became a complex statement about the connections between religion and political power. Ādityawarman's later reconsecration of this image buttressed the role of the statue in the legitimization of his leadership.

Although we know far less about the circumstances of its production, the deliberate destruction of the statue of Heruka from Padang Lawas can also be seen in this light. Just as the construction of an image can serve specific political ends, so can the destruction of an image be motivated by political as well as religious concerns. The more recent disappearance of, and disregard for, the Heruka statue reflects the local people's ambivalence toward their own pre-Islamic history, as well as the central government's neglect of archaeology outside of Java.

The demonic appearances of the Heruka statue and the Buddhist bhai-

rava from Sungai Langsat have no doubt contributed to the impact of these statues. Some colonial scholars felt that the wrathful imagery of tantric Buddhism found "fertile ground" in Sumatra because of the indigenous religions of the region. I think it unlikely that the esoteric beliefs of the royal families of either Java or Sumatra spread far beyond the courts themselves. Yet ideas about the afterlife, and the importance of the skull within that framework, could not help but influence how these images were received in ancient Java and Sumatra, and how they continue to be received today.

I conducted the research for this book during a turbulent period of intense change in Indonesia (1997–1998). After decades of surface-level peace, fractious communal violence erupted, often with devastating results. On one hand, the study of Buddhist statuary of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries seemed centuries from the daily headlines. But when photos of men riding motorcycles through the streets of East Java with decapitated bodies trailing their bikes appeared in the national papers, I was reminded of the loaded potency of this particular image.[4] Outbreaks of violence including the taking of heads have also occurred in recent years in Kalimantan.[5] In that context, the media — crassly simplifying a complicated interethnic confrontation — wrote about a "return to brutal traditions."[6]

The circumstances surrounding each of these acts of violence are unique and often shrouded in rumor. But critics have implicated the government in these outbreaks, accusing the military of either overtly ignoring communal tensions or in some cases even covertly participating in them.[7] The murders of traditional healers and Muslims clerics and the deliberate display of decapitated heads have been described by these critics as a campaign of psychological warfare, for purposes of intimidation and subjugation.[8]

These reports suggest that the realities behind the newspaper photo of the East Javanese motorcyclist are far more complex than a mere depiction of a villager running amuck. Likewise, the wrathful imagery of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries can be seen as equally multivalent. These images were based on tantric Buddhist models, yet interpreted through a lens of indigenous practices. They undoubtedly served multiple purposes, to guard and protect, to frighten and intimidate.

When I initially proposed writing this book, I had planned to examine and discuss all the important ancient Buddhist sites in Sumatra. Arriving in the field to research, I was struck by the paired feelings that I was both much too late and much too early. Many of the antiquities mentioned by colonial archaeologists have disappeared; some of the temples have been reburied. On

the other hand, much archaeology remains to be completed, and the recent excavations along the Upper Batang Hari give an indication of how much more there is left to discover. The conclusions of this study are therefore necessarily tentative; I look forward to the information that future excavations will provide about this fascinating period in the history of ancient Indonesia.

NOTES

Abbreviations

BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'ecole française d'Extreme-Orient*
BKI	*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*
IIAS	International Institute for Asian Studies
JSEAS	*Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
OD	*Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*
OV	*Oudheidkundig verslag van den Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*
SEAMEO	Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization
SPAFA	SEAMO Program in Archaeology and Fine Arts
TBG	*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*
VG	*Verspreide Geschriften*
VBG	*Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunst en Wetenschappen*

Introduction

1. While there is evidence of Buddhism in Kalimantan (Borneo), Bali, and Lombok, the greatest number of early temples and statues have been found on the islands of Sumatra and Java. Bronze statues of Buddha have been found in Sulawesi also.

2. Although sites such as Muara Jambi and Muara Takus have been excavated, prominent scholars question the quality of restoration and reconstruction. See R. Soekmono, *Chandi Gumpung of Muara Jambi: A Platform In Stead [sic] of a Conventional Chandi* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1987), 11–16; and R. Soekmono, "The Architecture of Srivijaya: A Review," in SPAFA, *Final Report: Consultative Workshop on Archaeological and Environmental Studies of Srivijaya* (Bangkok: SPAFA, 1985).

3. The site of Śrīvijaya has been a much-contested question. Most Indonesian and Western scholars believe that this city was in present-day Palembang. Thai scholars have suggested a location on the isthmus of the Malay Peninsula. For a synopsis of some of the debate see O. W. Wolters, "Studying Śrīvijaya," *Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 52 (1979): 1–32. For more recent studies on the subject, see the works of Pierre-Yves Manguin, especially "Palembang and Sriwijaya: An Early Malay Harbour-City Rediscovered," *Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 66.1: 23–46.

4. J. Kats, *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1910).

5. Jan Fontein, *The Sculpture of Indonesia* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1990), 50; Rumbi Mulia, *The Ancient Kingdom of Panai and the Ruins of Padang Lawas (North Sumatera),* Bulletin of the Research Centre of Archaeology of Indonesia, no. 14 (Jakarta: Proyek Pengembangan Media Kebudayaan, Departemen P & K 1980), 9.

6. For a historical interpretation stressing the importance of Malāyu, see J. G. de Casparis, "Srivijaya and Malayu," in SPAFA, *Final Report.*

7. Robert Heine-Geldern, "Conceptions of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia," *Far Eastern Quarterly* 2 (1943): 15–30.

8. See Jan Wisseman Christie, "Rāja and Rāma: The Classical State in Early Java," in *Centers, Symbols, and Hierarchies: Essays on the Classical States of Southeast Asia,* ed. Lorraine Gesick, Yale University Southeast Asia Studies Monograph Series, no. 26 (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1983), 28–31.

9. See, among others, Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973); Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

10. See Richard H. Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), for a discussion of the continual re-creation of meaning in Indian art.

11. J. L. Moens, "Het Buddhisme op Java en Sumatra in zijn laatste bloeiperiode," *TBG* 64 (1924): 521–579.

Chapter 1: The Development of Buddhism in Sumatra and Java

1. W. P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, compiled from Chinese sources* (Batavia: W. Bruining, 1876), 7n2; George Coedès notes that there are conflicting opinions regarding the location of Yeh-p'o-t'i, where Faxian stopped on his return to China. It has been interpreted as Yavadvīpa, but according to O. W. Wolters, this was not necessarily Java. See O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 35. Some scholars think it was on the west coast of Borneo. See George Coedès, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: East-West Press, 1968), 54 and n. 76.

2. J. Takakusu, trans., *A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago, 671–695, by I Tsing* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896). See also O. W. Wolters' insightful analysis of this material: "Restudying Some Chinese Writings on Sriwijaya," *Indonesia* 42 (October 1986): 1–41.

3. George Coedès, "The Kingdom of Sriwijaya," in *Sriwijaya: History, Religion, and Language of an Early Malay Polity,* ed. George Coedès and Louis-Charles Damais, Monograph of the Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, no. 20 (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1992).

4. Malāyu is thought to be near the present-day city of Jambi.

5. It is not known exactly when Yijing returned from India. He possibly spent four years (685–689) in Śrīvijaya before his brief return to China. Yijing's accounts are particularly valuable because he not only recorded his own observations of Buddhist practices,

but also compiled the biographies of other Chinese pilgrims who had also made the journey to India in search of sacred texts. See I-ching, *Voyages des pèlerins bouddhistes: Les religieux éminents qui allerent chercher la loi dans les pays de l'Occident, mémoire composé à l'époque de la grand dynastie T'ang par I-tsing,* trans. Edouard Chavannes (Paris: E. Leroux, 1894).

6. It was apparently also a diverse and cosmopolitan city. An Arab writer reported that "the parrots there talked Persian, Arabic, Chinese, Indian and Greek." See J. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Introduction, An Overview," in *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity,* ed. J. Kathirithamby-Wells and John Villiers (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1990), 15n27.

7. Takakusu, *Buddhist Religion,* xxxiv.

8. Ibid., 10–11.

9. Ibid., 184.

10. Ibid., 45–47.

11. W. Pachow, "The Voyage of Buddhist Missions to South-East Asia and the Far East," *Journal of the Greater India Society* 17.1–2 (1958): 9–12.

12. Coedès, *Indianized States,* 297n.33.

13. Several of the longer inscriptions are prefaced by a shorter curse formula in a third unidentified language. Charles-Louis Damais hypothesized that this language was related to Malay; others have theorized it may be a language of the seafaring *orang laut* of the region. Charles-Louis Damais, "Language B of the Sriwijaya Inscriptions," in Coedès and Damais, *Sriwijaya,* 113–165. Nik Hassan Shuhaimi bin Nik Abdul Rahman, "Śrīvijaya as Socio-political and Cultural Entity," in Kathirithamby-Wells and Villiers, *Southeast Asian Port and Polity,* 61–82.

14. J. G. de Casparis published the Telaga Batu inscription in *Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Century A.D.,* Prasasti Indonesia, 2 (Bandung: Masa Baru, 1956), 15–46. The Kedukan Bukit and the Talang Tuwo inscriptions were translated by G. Coedès in 1930 ("Les inscriptions malaises de Çrivijaya," *Bulletin de l'ecole française d'Extreme Orient* 30 (1930): 29–80) and then translated into English in "The Malay Inscriptions of Sriwijaya," in Coedès and Damais, *Sriwijaya,* 41–92. This essay also contains Coedès' translation of two of the inscriptions from outside Palembang, the Karang Brahi inscription from Jambi and the Kota Kapur inscription from the island of Bangka. For the two inscriptions found in South Lampung, see Boechari, "An Old Malay Inscription of Śrīwijaya at Palas Pasemah," in *Pra Seminar Penelitian Sriwijaya* (Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian dan Penggalian Purbakala, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1979), 19–42; and Boechari, "New Investigations on the Kedukan Bukit Inscription," in *Untuk Bapak Guru, Prof. Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers: Persembahan para Murid Untuk Memperingati Usia Genap 80 Tahun* (Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian Purbakala Jakarta, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1986), 33–56. An undated inscription was found at Boom Baru (Palembang) and is now in the Palembang Provincial Museum. See M. M. Sukarto Kartoatmodjo, *Boom Baru Inscription and Its Relationship with Sriwijaya Kingdom* (Palembang: State Museum of South Sumatra Province Balaputra Dewa, 1994/1995).

15. E. Edwards McKinnon notes that the Kota Kapur inscription was found on the island of Bangka in the strategically important Strait of Melaka. The Karang Brahi inscription was "situated on the threshold of a major alluvial gold-bearing region in upper

Jambi." E. Edwards McKinnon, "Early Polities in Southern Sumatra: Some Preliminary Observations Based on Archaeological Evidence," *Indonesia* 40 (October 1985): 6. Two other inscriptions were found in the southernmost Sumatran province of Lampung, which lies nearest to Java.

16. The Kedukan Bukit inscription uses the term *siddhayātrā*. The Karang Brahi and Kota Kapur inscriptions use the word *siddha*. For line references, see Coedès and Damais, *Sriwijaya,* 83. The word *jayasiddha* was found on at least five stones in the area around Palembang. See de Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions,* 1–2.

17. Coedès and Damais, *Sriwijaya,* 62.

18. See fragments a, b, and c discussed by de Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions,* 2–10.

19. For an analysis of the theme of *drohaka (durhaka)* in later Malay literature, see Natasha Reichle, "One-Upmanship in the *Sejarah Melayu:* Rivalry, *Muslihat,* and the Construction of Status," *Malay Literature* 10.1–2 (1997): 52–73.

20. For a discussion of the drinking of oaths in other parts of Asia, see de Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions,* 29. Loyalty oaths in Thailand are discussed in David K. Wyatt, "Relics, Oaths, and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Siam," *JSEAS* 32.1 (2001): 3–66; and Robert L. Brown, "The Miraculous Buddha Image: Portrait, God, or Object," in *Images, Miracles, and Authority in Asian Religious Traditions,* ed. Richard H. Davis (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998), 45–48. William Marsden noted similar practices still existing in Sumatra in the eighteenth century. William Marsden, *The History of Sumatra* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford in Asia Historical Reprints, 1966), 242–243. For parallels between the language of these inscriptions and the language patterns of royal communication *(surat cap)* of Minangkabau rulers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Jane Drakard, *A Kingdom of Words: Language and Power in Sumatra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 235.

21. De Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions,* 29–31.

22. Line 12 states *"ada ātra dañan darah."* Ibid., 30, 41.

23. This complex diagram (also called *śri-cakra*) is made up of overlapping triangles. See P. H. Pott, *Yoga and Yantra* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), 40–44.

24. The inscription uses the word *rūpa* and also the word *rūpiṇāṅku,* which de Casparis interprets as an image of the king himself. De Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions,* 30.

25. In particular, a plant called *kuṣṭa* was used for magical potions. Ibid.

26. *Vaśīkaraṇa* ceremonies were rituals used to charm or bewitch. Ibid.

27. Coedès, "Malay Inscriptions," 50.

28. Ibid., 59.

29. Ibid., 49.

30. Ibid., 60.

31. For extracts see B. R. Chatterjee, *History of Indonesia* (Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1967), 157–162; for the complete text see Hirananda Shastri, "The Nalanda Copper-Plate of Devapaladeva," *Epigraphia Indica* 17.7 (1924): 310–327.

32. The Bālaputra referred to in this inscription may be the same prince that is mentioned in the famous Old Javanese inscription of 856. De Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions,* 280–330. See chapter 4, note 42.

33. Some scholars doubt the historicity of Atīa's journey, see H. Eimer, "Life and Activities of Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna: A Survey of Investigations Undertaken," *Journal*

of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta), 27.4 (1985). Peter Skilling is of the opinion that in the eleventh century, Śrīvijaya was on the Malay Peninsula, perhaps at Kedah or along the isthmus of Kra. "Dharmakīrti's Durbodhāloka and the Literature of Śrīvijaya," pts. 1 and 2, *Journal of the Siam Society* 85 (1997): 187–194.

34. From *Jo bo rje dpal ldan mar me mdzad ye shes kyi rnam thar rgyas pa* (Varnasi: E Kalsang, 1970), 132, quoted in Hubert Decker, "Atisa's Journey to Sumatra," in *Buddhism in Practice,* ed. Donald Lopez (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 534. Another of Atiśa's gurus, Piṇḍo, was from Yavadvīpa in the South Seas. See John Ronald Newman, "The Outer Wheel of Time: Vajrayāna Buddhist Cosmology in the Kālacakra Tantra" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1987), 94 ff.

35. This information is given in the colophon of the text. See Skilling, "Literature of Srivijaya," 191.

36. Chatterjee, *History of Indonesia,* 162–69.

37. Chatterjee's translation of the inscription reads, "Sri Maravijayottungavarman, son of Chudamanivarman . . . sprung from the Śailendra family and lord of the Śrivishaya country . . . assumed the lordship over Katāha." Chatterjee, *History of Indonesia,* 191. This has led to speculation that the breadth of the polity of Śrīvijaya spread from the Malay isthmus to Palembang. Skilling thinks that in the eleventh century, Māravijayōttuṅgavarman ruled from Kaṭāha (Kedah) on the Malay Peninsula, but most other scholars assume he ruled from Sumatra. Skilling, "Literature of Srivijaya," 190.

38. Nik Hassan Shuhaimi, "Art, Archaeology, and the Early Kingdoms in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra: c. 400–1400 A.D." (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1984); Nik Hassan Shuhaimi. "Buddhist Sculpture from Sumatra, Peninsular Malaysia, and Peninsular Thailand during the Śrīvijayan Period (7th–14th c. A.D.)" (M.A. thesis, University of London, 1976).

39. See Pierre-Yves Manguin, "The Early Maritime Polities," in *Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History,* ed. Ian Glover and Peter Bellwood (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 301–303. Also Sri Utami Ferdinandus "Votive Tablets of Blandongan, Batujaya, Residence of Karawang, West Java," in *Sanskrit in Southeast Asia: The Harmonizing Factor of Cultures* (Bangkok: Sanskrit Studies Centre, 2003), 387–395.

40. See Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia,* pl. 35 and 36.

41. See Sara Schastok, "Bronzes in the Amaravati Style," in *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture,* ed. Marijke J. Klokke and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994), 33–49. See also Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer and Marijke J. Klokke, *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 24–25.

42. One of the most curious aspects of Indonesian archaeology is the long gap in temple building after the capital moved from Central to East Java. There are very few structural remains of either religious or secular buildings from the period between the late tenth century to the thirteenth century. Besides a few East Javanese bathing sites, only the base of one substantial Śaivite temple has been excavated that dates from this intermediary period. This temple, Candi Guruh (11th–12th c.), yielded some spectacularly preserved stone images of Hindu deities. Likewise the late-tenth-century bathing site of Belahan is thought to be the origin of a 1.9-meter-high image of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa. Besides these images, and some female spout-figures, there is remarkably little freestanding stone sculpture from this period.

43. The origins of the Śailendras have been a point of much conjecture. R. C. Majumdar sought to find connections with the Śailas of Orissa. R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East II,* vol. 2: *Suvarṇadvīpa* (Lahore: The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1937), 226–227. N. J. Krom theorized that the Śailendras were originally from Sumatra. See *De Sumatraansche periode der javaansche Geschiedenis* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1919). The issue was addressed by Roy Jordaan and Marijke Klokke at the international symposium "Non-Javanese, Not Yet Javanese, and Un-Javanese: Encounters and Fissures in a Civilization" (Leiden University, 23–25 March 2004).

44. Djoko Dwiyanto, "Hasil Sementara Ekskavasi Selomerto: Suatu Tinjuan Arsitektur dan Ikonografi," *Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi III (P.I.A. III) Ciloto, 23–28 Mei 1983* (Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian Purbakala Jakarta, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1985), 438–514.

45. J. G. de Casparis, *Inscripties uit de Çailendra-tijd,* Prasasti Indonesia, 1 (Bandung: A. C. Nix, 1950), 100–102.

46. See Jan Wisseman Christie, "Revisiting Early Mataram," in *Fruits of Inspiration: Studies in Honour of Prof. J. G. de Casparis, Retired Professor of the Early History and Archeology of South and Southeast Asia at the University of Leiden, the Netherlands, on the Occasion of his 85th Birthday,* ed. Marijke J. Klokke and Karel R. van Kooij (Groningen: Forsten, 2001), 25–55; and Marijke Klokke, "The Sailendras of Java: Javanese or Non-Javanese?" (paper presented at the international symposium "Non-Javanese, Not Yet Javanese, and Un-Javanese," Leiden University, 23–25 March 2004).

47. Inscriptions from Kalasan (778 CE) and Karang Tengah (824 CE) suggest cooperation between Hindu and Buddhist rulers in the construction of monuments. See F. D. K. Bosch, "De inscriptie van Keloerak," *TBG* 68 (1928): 58–63; and de Casparis, *Inscripties,* 24–50.

48. Jan Gonda, "The Indian Religions in Pre-Islamic Indonesia and Their Survival in Bali," *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden, Koln), vol. 2, sect. 1 (1975): 9.

49. Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia,* 38.

50. Ibid., 39.

51. Ibid., 42.

52. I will not summarize these theories. For more information on Borobudur see, among others, Louis Frederic and Jean-Louis Nou, *Borobudur* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1996); Luis O. Gomez and Hiram W. Woodward, eds., *Barabuḍur; History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); N. J. Krom and Th. Van Erp, *Beschrijving van Barabudur* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1920–1931); John Miksic, *Borobudur: Golden Tales of the Buddhas* (Hong Kong: Periplus Editions, 1990); Paul Mus, *Barabuḍur: Sketch of a History of Buddhism Based on Archaeological Criticism of the Texts* (trans. Alexander W. MacDonald) (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts Sterling Publishers Private Ltd., 1998); Soekmono, J. G. de Casparis, and Jacques Dumarcay, *Borobudur: Prayer in Stone* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990); John C. Huntington, "The Iconography of Borobudur Revisited: The Concepts of Śleṣa and Sarva[buddha]kāya," in Klokke and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture,* 1994; Marijke Klokke, "Borobudur, a Mandala? A Contextual Approach to the Function and Meaning of Borobudur," in *IIAS Yearbook 1995* (Leiden: IIAS, 1996), 191–219; David L. Snellgrove, "Borobudur: Stupa or

Mandala?" *East and West* 46.3–4 (1996): 477–483; R. Soekmono, "Serat Centhini and the Rejected Buddha from the Main Stupa of Borobudur," in Klokke and van Kooij, *Fruits of Inspiration,* 475–485.

53. In both Central and East Java it appears that most temples were dedicated to Śiva. Inscriptional and literary evidence does suggest that during some periods (especially the Kaḍiri dynasty) kings also worshipped Viṣṇu. See Gonda, "The Indian Religions," 26.

54. See chapter 3 and Marijke J. Klokke, "The Iconography of the So-called Portrait Statues in Late East Javanese art," in Klokke and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture,* 178–201, as well as Klokke, "Deified Couples and Meditation: On the Iconography of the So-called Portrait Statues in Ancient Javanese Art," in *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1994,* ed. Pierre-Yves Manguin (Hull: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hull, 1999), 2:171–179.

Chapter 2: Joko Dolok and the Politics of Royal Asceticism

1. Formerly known as the Kroesen Park, today it is called Taman Apsari.

2. Dutch reports from the early twentieth century describe the image smeared with powder and bedecked with flowers. Ph. S. van Ronkel, "De Afbeelding van het Mahākṣobhyabeeld te Soerabaja," *TBG* 52 (1910): 169.

3. See Th. G. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century: A Study in Cultural History. The* Nāgara-Kertāgama *by Rakawi Prapanca of Majapahit 1365 A.D.* 5 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960–1963). Also see Mpu Prapañca, *Deśawarṇana (Nāgarakṛtāgama),* trans. Stuart Robson (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995). Unless noted, all quotations from this source will be from Robson's translation and will be cited with the abbreviation *Nāg.*

4. A similar statue and two detached heads were found in the area between Candi Plaosan and the neighboring Buddhist complex, Candi Sewu.

5. Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia,* 138, pl. 12.

6. For more on the role of monks and nuns as donors in ancient India, see Gregory Schopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997).

7. The Joko Dolok image is about 1.8 meters high; the Malang image is 1.37 meters. According to Bosch, the Malang image also sits on an oval base that had been burnished in preparation for an inscription. F. D. K. Bosch, "Nog eens: De Bijzetting van koning Kretanagara te Sagala," *OV* (1918): 25. The Malang image currently sits in front of a governmental building near the city center.

8. Hendrik Kern, "De Sanskrit-inscriptie van 't Mahākṣobhyabeeld te Simpang," *TBG* 54 (1910): 99–108. R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, "De Inscriptie van het Mahākṣobhyabeeld te Simpang (Soerabaya)," *BKI* 78 (1922): 426–461. Max Nihom, "The Identification and Original Site of a Cult Statue on East Java: The Jaka Dolog," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106.3 (1986): 485–501. Lokesh Chandra, "The Jaka Dolog Inscription of King Kṛtanagara," in *Cultural Horizons of India* (New Delhi: International Academy of India Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1995), 4:148–166. Nihom argues that Kṛtanagara was an adherent of a cult dedicated to the wrathful deity Hevajra, while Chandra suggests a different wrathful figure, Guhyasamāja.

9. *Nāg.,* canto 43:2c: "The name under which he was consecrated as a Jina, Jñanabajreśwara, is widely known." Also see line 11 of the Singasari inscription of 1351 CE, in J. L. A. Brandes, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari en de wolkentooneelen van Panataran* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1909), 38.

10. According to Boechari, the division of Java by Airlangga was not as extensive as previously conceived. See Boechari, "Sri Maharaja Garasakan, a New Evidence on the Problem of Airlangga's Partition of His Kingdom," *Madjalah ilmu-ilmu Sastra Indonesia* 4 (1968): 1–26.

11. *Nāg.,* canto 68:2a.

12. N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931), 270 ff.

13. Even in the twentieth century, Indonesian presidents, including Sukarno and Abdurrahman Wahid, have advocated the use of meditation for the accumulation of spiritual power.

14. Christie, "Rāja and Rāma," 26.

15. Coedès, *Indianized States,* 185–186.

16. The turbulence of accession can be seen in the chronology of the Singasari dynasty. Ken Angrok, the first Singasari king, gained power by killing the governor of Tumapel and marrying his wife, Ken Dedes. She was already pregnant by her first husband, and their son, Anūṣapati, eventually killed his stepfather, Ken Angrok, thus avenging his father and regaining the throne. Anūṣapati, in turn, was killed by the son of Ken Angrok, Tohjaya (his stepbrother). Tohjaya's short reign was ended by his nephews, Wiṣṇuwardhana (Anūṣapati's son) and Narasiṃhamūrti (a grandson of Ken Angrok). See the list of East Javanese rulers in the front matter.

17. J. L. A. Brandes, *Pararaton (Ken Arok), Het Boek der Koningen van Tumapel en van Majapahit* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1920), 99–101.

18. Hendrik Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften,* onder zijn toezicht versameld ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1918), 8:21. As quoted in P. J. Zoetmulder, "The Significance of the Study of Culture and Religion for Indonesian Historiography," in *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography,* ed. Soedjatmoko et al. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965), 331.

19. For the earliest and most comprehensive study see Moens, "Het Buddhisme op Java en Sumatra."

20. Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, "The Idea of Power," 25.

21. Coedès, *Indianized States,* 198.

22. Kenneth Hall, "Economic History of Early Southeast Asia," in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia,* ed. Nicholas Tarling, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1:217.

23. For more on this subject see David Bode, *Khubilai Khan and the Beautiful Princess of Tumapel* (Ulaanbaatar: A. Chuluunbat, 2002.)

24. This theory is discussed in Pott, *Yoga and Yantra,* 68.

25. Chandra also associated the consecration of this image with Kṛtanagara's efforts to rival the Mongols, but proposes that in order "to supersede Kublai Khan who had been initiated into Mother Tantras, he [Krtanagara] got empowered into the more virile and powerful Father Tantras represented by Guhyasamāja." Chandra, "Jaka Dolog," 156.

26. Ibid. Chandra associates Mahākṣobhya with the *mahāyoga* tantras, and the diety Guhyasamāja.

27. For an interesting parallel see photo number 1 in J. L. Moens, "Hindu-Javaansche Portretbeelden Çaiwapratista en Boddhapratista," *TBG* 58 (1919): 493–526.

28. De Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions,* 270–271.

29. Ibid., 266.

30. Willem Stutterheim, "Een bronzen Schedelnap," *Djawa* 9 (1929): 14–15.

31. Hariani Santiko, "Early Research on Sivaitic Hinduism during the Majapahit Era," in *The Legacy of Majapahit,* ed. John Miksic and Endang Sri Hardiati Soekatno (Singapore: National Heritage Board, 1995), 58.

32. J. L. A. Brandes, *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* 60 (1913): 207–210. H. Muhammad Yamin, *Tatanegara Majapahit, Sapta-Parwa II* (Jakarta: Yayasan Prapantja, 1962), 119–120.

33. For more on these sources see chapter 5.

34. Santiko, "Early Research," 66. See David Lorenzen, *Kapalikas and Kalamukhas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), for an in-depth account of two tantric Śaivite sects in India.

35. P. J. Zoetmulder, *Old Javanese Dictionary* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1982), 1:797.

36. Santiko writes,

> The main teaching is *bhakti* and the conduct of the *mahavrata* so that the devotee has no qualms about self-sacrifice as well as living alone in deserted places, especially cemeteries. Its devotees always carry skull bowls for food and drink; eating human flesh and drinking the blood of human sacrifices are compulsory in the *mahavrata* of this sect. Devotees of this *Kapilakam* sect wear six signs: skull ear ornaments, *kanthika* necklaces, *rucaka* necklaces, hair decorations other than crescents, the *upawita,* and ash as a covering for their bodies. Other additional signs are carrying the skull bowl and the *khatwanga* (club with skull handle).

"Early Research," 65–66.

37. *Nāg.,* canto 43:4.

38. *Nāg.,* canto 42:3–43:3.

39. *Nāg.,* canto 43:5–6.

40. Jessy Blom, *The Antiquities of Singasari* (Leiden: Burgersdijk and Niermans, 1939), 129. Blom describes interpretations by seven different scholars regarding the identity and location of the commemorative statues erected for Krtanagara.

41. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century,* 3:50. Following Pigeaud's translation, Chandra argues that the Jina and the Vairocana/Locanā statue are one and the same. Chandra, "Jaka Dolog," 165. Both Bosch and Nihom, in contrast, think that the replica of Joko Dolok found in Malang is the Jina image from Sagala. Bosch, "Nog eens," 29; Nihom, "Identification," 495.

42. Yet another interpretation would see the Ardhanareśwarī and the Vairocana/Locanā statues as two separate images.

43. *Nāg.,* canto 56.

44. See R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, "Het Beeld van Tjandi Djawi," *OV* (1917): 147.

45. See, for instance, Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche,* 345.

46. *Nāg.,* canto 57.

47. A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 82.

48. Chandra, "Jaka Dolog," 163–164.

49. The "here" used in the passage that mentions the Śiwa-Buddha image is Singasari, where Prapañca has stopped to inquire about the royal lineage.

50. Poerbatjaraka, "De Inscriptie," 461.

51. R. D. M. Verbeek, "Oudheden van Majdapahit," *TBG* 33 (1890): 3.

52. Poerbatjaraka, "De Inscriptie," 461–462. Also see N. J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923), 2:174.

53. In the early nineteenth century, Resident De Salls (or De Salis) wanted to take the statue to India, but made it only as far as Surabaya.

54. Nihom, "Identification," 495.

55. Ibid.

56. Some Central Javanese temples such as Candi Sari and Candi Plaosan were designed with a second story, but these large rectangular structures are quite different from the smaller square plan of the upper levels of Candi Jawi or Candi Singasari.

57. Stutterheim conjectured that a Buddhist image was placed originally in this upper chamber of Candi Singasari, but most archaeological evidence suggests the empty chamber was constructed for structural reasons. Willem F. Stutterheim, "De Dateering van eenige oost-javaansche beeldengroepen," *TBG* 76 (1934): 300 f. For a critique of Stutterheim see Blom, *Antiquities,* 44–47.

58. Opinions are divided as to whether the central *stūpa* contained this statue or not. Krom believed the Buddha was an unfinished sculpture from the lower galleries, while Van Erp and Stutterheim believed it was an image that was intentionally enclosed in the *stūpa*. In Robson's commentary to the *Nāg.,* he observes that in the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan,* Akṣobhya was associated with the element of ether, thus "[t]he idea is that the image had the power to turn into empty space, in accordance with the element of which Akṣobhya is composed." *Nāg.,* 126. Soekmono's recent article on the subject cites an early-nineteenth-century Javanese manuscript, the *Serat Centhini,* to convincingly argue that the unfinished Buddha statue belongs to the central *stūpa* of Borobudur. See Soekmono, "Serat Centhini," 475–485.

59. Bosch, "Nog eens," 21ff.

60. Brandes, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari,* plate 71, right.

61. See Bosch, "Nog eens." The site Sagala has not been identified.

62. Mpu Ḍusun, *Kuñjarakarṇa Dharmakathana: Liberation through the Law of the Buddha: An Old Javanese Poem by Mpu Ḍusun,* ed. and trans. A. Teeuw and S. O. Robson (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), 5. The date of the text is uncertain; there is one inscription pointing to a later, fifteenth-century date.

63. Hendrik Kern, "Over de vermenging van Çiwaisme en Buddhisme op Java, naar aanleiding van het Oud-Javaansch gedicht Sutasoma," *VG* 4 (1916): 149–177.

64. Kern's source for this commentary is Hui-li, *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang* (Paris: Impr. Imperiale, 1853), 220.

65. Willem F. Stutterheim, *Rama-Legends and Rama-Reliefs in Indonesia* (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, Abhiva Publications, 1989), 242.

66. Ibid.

67. W. H. Rassers, “Śiva and Buddha in the East Indian Archipelago,” in *Panji, the Culture Hero* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959), 65–91. “In the East Javanese relationship between Buddhism and Śivaism, we have before us the singular instance of two powers which blend with each other as thoroughly as possible, which can be said to form one unit, and which besides this manage to preserve completely, in a very singular way, their independence” (70).

68. See P. V. van Stein Callenfels and Raden Ng. Poerbatjaraka, “Verklaring van Bas-relief-series,” *TBG* 58 (1919): 348–390.

69. Rassers also compares the relationship of the two religions in East Java to the relationship of the religions in Bali and Lombok. Rassers, “Śiva and Buddha,” 71–72.

70. Jan Gonda, “Siva in Indonesien,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 14 (1970): 28. In *Java in the 14th Century,* 4:3, Pigeaud writes, “It seems preferable not to use the word syncretism for the religious frame of mind which appears in the initial words of the poem [the Nagarakrtagama], for this term evokes the idea of confusion. Parallelism seems a better word to characterise the poet’s outlook, that probably was shared by the intellectual elite of his time.” Hariyati Soebadio, *Jñānasiddhânta. Secret Lore of the Balinese Śaivapriest* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971), 57.

71. Soewito Santoso, *Sutasoma: A Study in Javanese Wajrayana* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1975).

72. Max Nihom, *Studies in Indian and Indo-Indonesian Tantrism: The Kuñjarakarṇadharmakathana and the Yogatantra* (Vienna: Sammlung De Nobili, 1994).

73. Santoso, *Sutasoma,* 125. F. D. K. Bosch, “De Inscriptie van Keloerak,” 2–64. Bosch translates the passage somewhat differently: “He is the Vajrabearer, the illustrious, is Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara; he is the Lord existing from all gods and is praised as Manjuvac.”

74. Santoso, *Sutasoma,* 45–46.

75. Mpu Ḍusun, *Kuñjarakarṇa,* canto 21.

76. Ibid., canto 22:3–23:4, 123–125.

77. Ibid., 10.

78. As quoted in Ann Kinney, *Worshiping Siva and Buddha: The Temple Art of East Java* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2003).

79. There are also common references to four denominations: ṛṣis, brahmins, Śaivites, and Buddhists. Ṛṣi referred to forest hermits, perhaps of the Lakulīśa Pāśupata order. See Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century,* 4:363. Also see Judith O. Becker, *Gamelan Stories: Tantrism, Islam, and Aesthetics in Central Java* (Tempe: Program for Southeast Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1993.)

80. *Nāg.,* canto 75:2; also Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century,* 3:87–88.

81. *Nāg.,* canto 8:3–4, describes the places for “Śaiwa, Wipras, and Buddhists” at a court ceremony. They are placed respectively to the east, south, and north. In this context Pigeaud seems to equate “Wipras” with Vaiṣṇavites. See Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century,* 4:15. The first stanza of canto 12 describes the wards for the Śaivite and Buddhist court priests. These wards were to the east and the south of the royal compound. Pigeaud theorizes that the Vaiṣṇavite high priest was perhaps a foreigner, and thus was housed farther away from the court. Canto 12, stanza 5, describes the position of the

manors of the superintendents of the Śaivite and Buddhist clergy (translated as bishop by Pigeaud). The Śaivite manor was to the east and the Buddhist to the west. Canto 16 stanza 2 describes the prohibition on Buddhists to travel to the west of Java. See Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century,* 4:22.

82. *Nāg.,* canto 81:2.

83. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century,* 3:130.

84. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Stūpa in Indonesia," in *The Stupa: Its Religious, Historical, and Architectural Significance,* ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola and Stephanie Zingel-Ave Lallemant (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1980).

85. Brandes, *Pararaton,* 123.

86. *Nāg.,* canto 31.

87. Jacques Dumarçay, *The Temples of Java* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986), 72.

88. The latticed *stūpas* on the upper terraces of Borobudur are unique: they are not solid, but they cannot be entered.

89. Peter Worsley, "Narrative Bas-Reliefs at Candi Surawana," in *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries,* ed. D. G. Marr and A. C. Milner (Singapore: ISEAS and ANU, 1986).

90. Ibid., "Narrative Bas-Reliefs," 339–340.

91. Marijke J. Klokke, "On the Orientation of Ancient Javanese Temples: The Example of Candi Surowono," in *IIAS Yearbook 1994,* ed. Paul van der Velde (Leiden: International Institute for Asian Studies, 1995), 73–86. See also Peter Worsley, "On the Ordering of the Narrative Reliefs at Candi Surowono, East Java, a response to Marijke Klokke, 'On the Orientation of Ancient Javanese Temples: The Example of Candi Surowono,' *IIAS Yearbook 1994,*" in *IIAS Yearbook 1995,* ed. Paul van der Velde (Leiden: International Institute for Asian Studies, 1996), 220–223.

92. The image from Mount Penanggungan combines Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite characteristics with a headdress of a Buddha. See Marijke Klokke, "Iconography of the So-called Portrait Statues," 185. The heavily damaged statue portrays a four-armed standing figure. The body of the figure is draped with jewelry and numerous sashes. The head is covered with large curls, and seems to be topped by a large slightly conical *uṣṇīṣa*.

93. Ibid., 190.

94. Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia,* 55.

95. Two are in the National Museum, Phnom Penh; one in Musée Colonial, Marseille; one at the Archaeological Museum Phimai; and one at Pha That Luang in Vientiane. See Helen Ibbitson Jessup and Thierry Zephir, eds., *Sculpture of Angkor and Ancient Cambodia: Millennium of Glory* (New York; London: Thames and Hudson, 1997): 353n.90. This catalog also mentions one other head (confiscated in Battambang), but does not say where it currently is.

96. Hiram W. Woodword, Jr., "The Jayabuddhamahānātha Images of Cambodia," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 52–53 (1994–1995): 105.

97. Frederic and Nou, *Borobudur,* 113–114. The comte de Beauvoir's description seems to indicate a very large statue, much bigger than the unfinished Buddha currently housed at the site museum. See also chapter 2, note 58.

98. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Dhyani-Buddhas of Barabudur," *BKI* 121 (1965): 389–416.

99. Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (New York: Dover Publications, 1988), 36. Frederic and Nou, *Borobudur,* 114.

100. Miksic, *Borobudur,* 50.

Chapter 3: Ideas of Portraiture

1. Robert E. Fisher, *Buddhist Art and Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), 153.

2. Quoted in Karl With, *Java: Brahmanische, buddhistische und eigenlebige Architektur und Plastik auf Java* (Hagen i. W.: Folkwang Verlag, 1920), 158 (my translation.)

3. Fisher, *Buddhist Art,* 152.

4. The color of the stone is unusual. Rouffaer reported that that the stone was softer and lighter than that of the other statues at Singasari and composed of an andesite tuff, with no trace of lime. See Brandes, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari,* 67.

5. Blom, *Antiquities,* 11.

6. The four images from the main temple were Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Nandiśvara, and Mahākāla. A Nandi statue was most likely originally facing the main temple. The sixth image was a bhairava (discussed in chapter 6) that likely came from a nearby temple.

7. Blom, *Antiquities,* 10.

8. Ibid., 3, 8, 17, 67.

9. Ibid., 27.

10. For a synopsis of these early reports see ibid., chapter 1, or Brandes, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari.*

11. Rouffaer was of the opinion that these were two different *candis.* Brandes, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari,* 67–68.

12. Jan Wisseman Christie theorizes that the more complex patterning found on sculpture is evidence of the influence of new textile designs that were imported from India, but adapted for the local market. Jan Wisseman Christie, "Texts and Textiles in 'Medieval' Java," *BEFEO* 80.7 (1993): 194. See also Jan Wisseman Christie, "Weaving and Dyeing in Early Java and Bali," in *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1998, Proceedings of the 7th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Berlin, 31 August–4 September 1998,* ed. Wibke Lobo and Stefanie Reimann (Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull; Berlin: Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 2000), 25.

13. Edward Conze, *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development* (New York: Harper, 1959), 84–85.

14. *Nāg.,* 43:3.

15. Donald S. Lopez Jr., ed., *Buddhism in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 5.

16. Other examples are the Egyptian Ma'at, the Greek Sophia, and the biblical personification of wisdom in Proverbs 1: 8, 9.

17. Diana Y. Paul, *Women in Buddhism: Images of the Feminine in the Mahayana Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 250.

18. Wm. Theodore de Bary, ed., *The Buddhist Tradition* (New York: Modern Library, 1969), 103. See also Edward Conze, *Buddhist Scriptures* (New York: Penguin, 1959), 168–171.

19. S. K. Saraswati, *Tantrayāna: An Album* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1977), L–LI. Saraswati also mentions descriptions of the goddess in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and the *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha,* but the goddess has four arms in these texts.

20. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1968), 198.

21. Vidya Dehejia, *Devi: The Great Goddess* (Washington: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1999), 303.

22. Ibid.

23. Susan L. Huntington and John C. Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree: The Art of Pāla India (8th–12th Centuries) and Its International Legacy* (Seattle: Dayton Art Institute in association with the University of Washington Press, 1990), 130–131, fig. 8. See also the bronze image of Prajñāpāramitā from Nālandā. Debjani Paul, *The Art of Nālandā* (New Delhi: Munshiram Monoharlal Publishers, 1995), pl. 76, 77.

24. Piriya Krairiksh, *Art in Peninsular Thailand prior to the Fourteenth Century A.D.* (Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 1980), 170, pl. 46.

25. Jayavarman VII is said to have built the temple Ta Prohm for his mother with an image of Prajñāpāramitā, and Pheah Khan for his father with an image of Lokeśvara.

26. This goddess is also identified by some scholars as Tārā. Jessup and Zephir, *Sculpture of Angkor,* pl. 92.

27. Another Khmer example, this time in bronze, shows the goddess with eleven heads and twenty-two arms. See Michael Brand and Chuch Phoeurn, eds., *The Age of Angkor: Treasures from the National Museum of Cambodia* (Canberra: Australian National Gallery, 1992), 98–99.

28. Huntington and Huntington, *Leaves,* pl. 84. Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke also include this statue in *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes,* but do not positively identify the female figure as Prajñāpāramitā because she lacks attributes of the lotus and the book. Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer and Marijke J. Klokke, *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes: Catalog of the Exhibition in the Rijksmuseum with a General Introduction* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988). Also see John Miksic, ed., *Art of Indonesia* (New York: Vendome Press, 1992), 91.

29. Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke, *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes,* 96, pl. 44.

30. Statues have been found at Singasari and Boyolangu in East Java and Muara Jambi in Sumatra. A fourth image from Pugungraharjo in Lampung, South Sumatra, has also been described as Prajñāpāramitā. Although the image is richly decorated and has hands in the *dharmacakra mudrā,* Suleiman labels the image as a bodhisattva, not Prajñāpāramitā. Satyawati Suleiman, *Sculptures of Ancient Sumatra* (Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian Purbakala Jakarta, 1981), pl. 1a. K. C. Crucq reported yet another image thought to be a Prajñāpāramitā statue, but the hands of this statue are in a slightly different *mudrā* and there is no indication of a lotus plant. K. C. Crucq, "Een Potretbeeld der Rajapatni in het Bataviaasch Museum?" *OV* (1930): 219–221.

31. The method of carving the bracelets of the upper arms, with seven strands of beads

pointing upward, led Rouffaer to conclude that they must be the work of the same carver. Brandes, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari,* 99.

32. Blom, *Antiquities,* 79.

33. Jan Fontein, "Piecing Together the Fragments of the Past," *Aziatische Kunst* 4 (December 1996): 11.

34. See Soekmono, *Chandi Gumpung.*

35. Stutterheim, "De Dateering," 248–320; Marijke J. Klokke, "Indonesian Art," in *Art of Southeast Asia,* ed. Maud Giraud-Geslan et al. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 358; Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia,* 165.

36. The eight temples are Candi Teluk, Kembarbatu, Tinggi, Kandang Kerbau, Kota Mahligai, Gedong, Gumpung, and Kedaton. Two other structures include Candi Astano and Manapo Melayu. Bambang Budi Utomo, "Permasalahan Umum Muara Jambi," in *Rapat Evaluasi Hasil Penelitian Arkeologi* III, ed. Niles A. Subagus (Jakarta: Departmen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1988), 168. In a 1992 essay Nik Hassan Shuhaimi mentions a few other structures: Candi Telago Rajo, Gudang Garam I and II, Kubur Batu. Nik Hassan Shuhaimi, "Warisan Seni Kerajaan Malayu dalam Konteks Kronologi dan Budaya di Lembah Sungai Batanghari," in *Seminar Sejarah Malayu Kuno, Jambi, 7–8 Desember 1992* (Jambi: Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat Jambi, 1992), 258–270.

37. J. Anderson, *Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra in 1823* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), app. 3, 397.

38. For early research see T. Adam, "Oudheden te Djambi," *OV* (1921): 194–197; and F. M. Schnitger, *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937.)

39. Nina Setiani, Peter Fernandus, and Lisa Ekawati, "Tinjauan Seni Pahat di Situs Muara Jambi," in Subagus, *Rapat Evaluasi Hasil Penelitian Arkeologi* III, 235–247.

40. S. Nagaraju speculates that Candi Gumpung was "the principal monastery in the region, a pontifical seat." S. Nagaraju, "A Central Sumatran Metropolis at Muara Jambi and Its Buddhist Connection: Some Reflections," in *Śrī Nāgābhinandanam Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao Festschrift,* ed. L. K. Srinivasan and S. Nagaraju (Bangalore: Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao Felicitation Committee, 1995), 2:750.

41. See Boechari, "Ritual Deposits of Candi Gumpung (Muara Jambi)," in SPAFA, *Final Report,* 229–243.

42. Soekmono criticizes the reconstruction of Candi Tinggi and Candi Gumpung, noting that the archaeologists who rebuilt these structures did not take into consideration the possibility of a terraced platform before rebuilding. Soekmono, *Chandi Gumpung,* 13–27.

43. M. Nazir suggests that the head of the image might be in the Museum Penang in Malaysia. I have been unable to confirm this. M. Nazir, *Mengenal: Candi-candi Muara Jambi* (Jambi: Proyek Rehabilitas dan Perluasan Museum Jambi, Kantor Wilayah Departemen P dan K Prop. Jambi, 1979), 17.

44. It is possible she was seated upon a terra-cotta pedestal found in Candi Gumpung. Nagaraju, "Central Sumatran Metropolis," pl. CXCIIb.

45. Yet another image of Prajñāpāramitā was discovered in Sumatra, a small bronze that was excavated at Biaro Haloban in Padang Lawas in northern Sumatra. Th. Van Erp, "Archaeological Finds in Padang Lawas (Tapanuli Residentship) Sumatra," in *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology XIV 1939* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1941): 13–20. This

bronze image is obviously different from the large stone statues previously discussed. But iconographically it is quite similar. The figure holds two hands in the *dharmacakra mudrā,* sits in the *padmāsana,* and wears ornate jewelry. A small hoop at the back of her head presumably supported a parasol, or perhaps a lotus bearing the *sūtra.* Although it is difficult to discern, it appears as if the stem of a lotus plant wraps around the figure's right arm.

46. E. Edwards McKinnon, "Malayu Jambi: Interlocal and International Trade (11th to 13th Centuries)," in *Seminar Sejarah Malayu Kuno,* 137.

47. Ibid.

48. This opinion is shared by Satyawati Suleiman. Satyawati Suleiman, "Research on Srivijaya History and Art History," in *Studies on Srivijaya* (Jakarta: National Research Centre of Archaeology, 1981), 57.

49. Similar *makaras* were found in the North Sumatra site of Padang Lawas.

50. Brandes, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari,* 56–58.

51. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century,* 4:121.

52. In the opening passages of the *Pararaton,* Ken Angrok is described as the son of Brahmā and a peasant woman. In a later passage, Śiva acknowledges Ken Angrok as his son. Brandes, *Pararaton,* 59, 75.

53. Some scholars think that Candi Jago was begun during the Singasari dynasty, but rebuilt in Majapahit times.

54. Pigeaud suggests that the different assessment of dynastic history in the two texts is the result of the different background of the two authors. The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* was written by a Buddhist cleric who was a close member of the royal contingent, while the author of the *Pararaton* "was a Shiwaite Javanese who was not interested in close contact with Royalty. He was interested not so much in dates and names as in events that could be dramatized. Probably he had relations with the class of popular bards or storytellers *(widu amacangah)* who are mentioned also in the Nag." Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century,* 4:120.

55. *Nāg.,* canto 40.

56. *Nāg.,* canto 49:2.

57. *Nāg.,* canto 2.

58. *Nāg.,* canto 64:3.

59. *Nāg.,* canto 64:5.

60. *Nāg.,* canto 67:1.

61. Oddly, the name Prajñāpārimitā rather than Prajñāpāramitā is used in the text, both here and in the later description of the sanctuary of the Rājapatnī. This spelling is also used in the Old Javanese text the *Sutasoma.* The deity's name was spelled in its standard form in the tenth-century Old Javanese religious treatise *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan.* Kats, *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan,* 48.

62. *Nāg.,* canto 67:2.

63. *Nāg.,* canto 69:2, 69:3.

64. Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia,* 162.

65. *Nāg.,* canto 69:1.

66. See R. Soekmono, *The Javanese Candi: Function and Meaning,* Studies in Asian Art and Archaeology, vol. 17 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).

67. Robert F. Hefner, *Hindu Javanese: Tengger Tradition and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

68. Ibid., 120.

69. Ibid., 121.

70. Ibid., 124–125.

71. For more on *śrāddha* ceremonies in India, see J. C. Heesterman, "Ritual and Ritualism: The Case of Ancient Indian Ancestor Worship," in *India and Beyond,* ed. Dick van der Meij (Leiden: IIAS, 1997), 249–270.

72. Nicholas Tarling, ed., *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1:307.

73. My summary of the early Dutch ideas on portrait statues is based on Willem F. Stutterheim, "Some Remarks on Pre-Hinduistic Burial Customs on Java," in *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956), 63–90.

74. Hendrik Kern, *VG* 8: 231 ff. J. L. A. Brandes, "Nāgarakeṛtāgama," *VBG* 54.1 (1902).

75. See Stutterheim, "Some Remarks," 66.

76. G. P. Rouffaer, "Notulen van de tiende Directievergadering, gehouden op Maandag, 8 November 1909," *Notulen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 47 (1909): 183ff. Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer does not think that his image came from Belahan. See Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Singosari-Beelden in de Nieuwe Kerk," *Aziatische Kunst* 35.4 (December 2005), 72n58.

77. Stutterheim, "Some Remarks," 66.

78. Th. A. Resink, "Belahan or a Myth Dispelled," *Indonesia* 6 (October 1968): 37.

79. Ibid., 35.

80. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century,* 4:133.

81. Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia,* 51–52. This is unlike India, where *pratiṣṭhā* refers to any consecrated image of a god.

82. Klokke, "Iconography of the So-called Portrait Statues."

83. Resink, "Myth Dispelled," 37.

84. The *śrāddha* ceremony for the Rājapatnī took place twelve years after her death, see *Nāg.,* cantos 2:1d and 63:2c. This twelve-year period is also mentioned in old Javanese inscriptions. See Soekmono, *Javanese Candi,* 13n2. Also see J. G. de Casparis, "Hindu Revival in Fifteenth Century Java," in van der Meij, *India and Beyond,* 52.

85. Jacob Ensink gives the following account of kings, and the statues and sites associated with them:

1227 Rājasa	Śiva-Buddha in Kagenenan
1268 Wiṣṇuwardhana	Śiva in Waleri
	Sugata in Jajagu (Jago)
1292 Kṛtanagara	Śiva and Buddha in Jawi and Singasari?
1309 Kṛtarājasa	Jina in Majapahit
	Śiva (Harihara) in Simpang
1328 Jayanagara	Viṣṇu in three temples
	Amoghasiddhi

Jacob Ensink, "Śiva-Buddhism in Java and Bali," *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* 108 (1978): 184.

86. See J. G. de Casparis and I. W. Mabbett, "Religion and Popular Beliefs of Southeast Asia before c. 1500," in Tarling, *Cambridge History,* 1:327.

87. *Nāg.,* canto 41:4a.

88. The existence of ancient rock-carved meditation niches, especially in East Java, is an indication of the importance of such practices. See Jan Wisseman Christie, "Negara, Mandala and Despotic State: Images of Early Java," in Marr and Milner, *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries,* 73.

89. Translated by Margaret W. Broekhuysen in Harry J. Benda and John A. Larkin, *The World of Southeast Asia: Selected Historical Readings* (New York Harper and Row, 1967), 38 ff.

90. Susan Huntington writes, "Individual portraiture aimed at physical likeness is rarely encountered in ancient Indian sculptures and painting." Susan L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India* (New York; Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1985), xxvi.

91. Vidya Dehejia, "The Very Idea of a Portrait," *Ars Orientalis* 28 (1998): 42.

92. One of the Cōḷa images that Dehejia chooses to focus on is a bronze Pārvatī that she thinks is an idealized portrait of Queen Sembiyan. Interestingly, she describes this image as stylistically idiosyncratic, suggesting that perhaps "verisimilitude" did play a part in the depiction of the image.

93. Dehejia, "The Very Idea," 47.

94. See Hilda Soemantri, *Majapahit Terracotta Art* (Jakarta: Ceramic Society of Indonesia, 1997).

95. The study of Javanese terra-cotta has been hampered by the large number of fakes, and the difficulty in determining the authenticity of pieces. See Brigitte Khan-Majlis, "Reinventing Majapahit Terracotta Art: Fakes and the Faking Industry," 2003. Available from http://www.arkeologi.net/index1.php?id=view_news&ct_news=105.

96. In 1979 new manuscripts of the text were found in Bali; Robson uses these in his translation.

97. S. Supomo, "The Image of Majapahit in Later Javanese and Indonesian Writing," in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia,* ed. A. Reid and D. Marr (Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books, 1979), 181.

98. Ibid., 183.

99. Onghokham as quoted in Seth Mydans, "Jakarta's Rulers Ever in Need of Ghostly Guidance," *New York Times,* 20 August 2001: A3.

100. Davis, *Lives,* 8.

Chapter 4: The Many Roles of the Amoghapāśa *Maṇḍala*

1. Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia,* 154.

2. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art,* 84.

3. The Buddhist text *Kuñjarakarṇa* is illustrated, along with the *Pārthayajña* (from the *Mahābhārata*), the *Arjunawiwāha,* a narrative concerning Kṛṣṇa, and Tantri tales. J. L. A. Brandes' *Beschrijving van de ruïne bij de desa Toempang, genaamd Tjandi Djago: In de residentie Pasoeroean* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff; Batavia: Albrecht, 1904) makes the first important comprehensive effort to read these reliefs. Later interpretations can be found in Marijke J. Klokke, *The Tantri Reliefs on Ancient Javanese*

Candi (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1990); and K. P. O'Brien, "Means and Wisdom in Tantric Buddhist Rulership of the East Javanese Period" (Ph.D. diss., University of Sydney, 1993).

4. *Nāg.,* canto 41: "In the Śaka -year 'air-nine-earth-earth' [1190, AD 1268] Lord Wiṣṇu returned to heaven, having died. He was enshrined as Waleri as a Śaiwa image and as a Buddhist one at Jajaghu." Brandes, *Pararaton,* 18:12, also gives this information with a later date.

5. Stutterheim, "De Dateering," 274–297.

6. Brandes, *Beschrijving van de ruïne,* 99–116. For more on this inscription see chapter 6.

7. See Klokke, *Tantri Reliefs,* 81–82; also A. J. Bernet Kempers, "The Kuñjarakarṇa Reliefs in Candi Jago," in Mpu Ḍusun, *Kuñjarakarṇa Dharmakathana: Liberation through the Law of the Buddha: An Old Javanese Poem by Mpu Ḍusun,* ed. and trans. A. Teeuw and S. O. Robson, KITLV Bibliotheca Indonesica 21 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), 204–205; R. Soekmono, "Indonesian Architecture of the Classical Period," in Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia,* 82.

8. This "Hindu" image was actually a statue of the Buddhist deity Amoghapāśa. Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java,* 2 vols. (1817; reprint with a new introd. by John Bastin, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1978), 1:44.

9. See the discussion of this issue in chapter 3.

10. This is also seen on a Gaṇeśa from Singasari; see chapter 6, fig. 6.12.

11. Raffles, *History,* 44; illustration on plate facing page 42.

12. Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia,* 154.

13. Janice Leoshko, "The Appearance of Amoghapāśa in Pāla Period Art," in *Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia,* ed. A. K. Narain (New Delhi: Kanak Publications, 1985), 129.

14. R. O. Meisezahl, "The Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī," *Monumenta Nipponica* 17 (1962): 272.

15. Ibid., 293–293.

16. R. O. Meisezahl, "Amoghapāśa: Some Nepalese Representations and Their Vajrayānic Aspects," *Monumenta Serica* 26 (1967): 479.

17. Quoted in J. Schoterman, "A Surviving Amoghapāśa Sādhana: Its Relation to the Five Main Statues of Candi Jago," in Klokke and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture,* 168.

18. See ibid. for a close comparison of the text and sculptures.

19. See Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, "The Tridaṇḍa of the Main Image of Candi Jago," *Southeast Asian Archaeology Newsletter,* no. 2 (1989): 14–19.

20. See discussion in Brandes, *Beschrijving van de ruïne,* 32–36.

21. Schoterman, "A Surviving Amoghapāśa," 165–168.

22. Kathleen O'Brien, comparing the statues to a Nepalese maṇḍala, posits a different alignment. She sees Tārā to Amoghapāśa's right in the northeast corner, with Sudhanakumāra in the northwest corner. To Amoghapāśa's left is Bhṛkuṭī in the southeast, with Hayagrīva in the southwest. K. O'Brien, "Candi Jago as a Mandala: Symbolism of Its Narratives," *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 22.2 (1988): 27.

23. N. J. Krom, "Een Sumatraansche Inscriptie van Koning Kṛtanagara," *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen* 5.2 (1917): 331.

24. Māmakhī is at the British Museum; Pānduravasinī and Locanā are at the Museum Nasional, Jakarta.

25. It is possible that the positions of Amitābha and Vairocana would be considered reversed, with Amitābha residing in the center, and Vairocana in the west.

26. See Ryu-jun Tajima, *Les deux Grands Mandalas et la Doctrine de L'Esoterisme Shingon* (Tokyo: Kasai Publishing, 1959); and Adrian Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Mandalas in Shingon Buddhism,* Sata-Pitaka Series 354–355 (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1997).

27. It is illustrated in Raffles, *History of Java,* though the caption states its provenance as "near Singa Sari." Raffles, *History,* 54 (2nd unnumbered plate following).

28. Brandes, *Beschrijving van de ruïne,* 29–30.

29. O'Brien, "Means and Wisdom," 255.

30. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art,* 85.

31. Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia,* 154.

32. Schoterman, "A Surviving Amoghapāśa."

33. Ibid., 158–159.

34. Ibid., 159.

35. Susan L. Huntington, *The "Pāla-Sena" Schools of Sculpture,* Studies in South Asian Culture, vol. 10, ed. J. E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984), fig. 112.

36. Ibid., fig. 115.

37. Ibid., 103.

38. Leoshko, "Appearance of Amoghapāśa," 131.

39. Leoshko cites the work of John Strong, who argues that *pretas* are the ghosts of one's own departed ancestors. John Strong, "Filial Piety and Buddhist: The Indian Antecedents to a Chinese Problem," in *Traditions in Contact and Change* (Selected Proceedings of the XIVth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions), ed. Peter Slater and Donald Wiebe (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfried Laurier University Press, 1983), 182–186.

40. A. J. Bernet Kempers, *The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese Art* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1933).

41. Shastri, "The Nalanda Copper-Plate," 310–327; Huntington and Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree,* 208–209.

42. Historians theorize that Bālaputra was the son of Samaratunga/Samaragravira, a Buddhist Śailendra king, and a Sumatran princess. Bālaputra's sister was married to a Hindu Sanjaya king, Pikatan (also known as Jatiningrat). After coming into conflict with his brother-in-law, Bālaputra was apparently sent to Sumatra. Coedès, *Indianized States,* 108; de Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions,* 258–259. A Javanese inscription from 856 CE describes this victory of Pikatan over Bālaputra. De Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions,* 260, 293–330. There is discrepancy in the dates: if Bālaputra was still in Java in 856, how could he have been king in Sumatra in 851? The Indonesian scholar Boechari contends these were actually two different, though related, princes. See Suleiman, *Sculptures of Ancient Sumatra,* 20.

43. Bernet Kempers, *The Bronzes of Nalanda,* 77. Bernet Kempers points out several similarities between Pāla bronzes and the much later Javanese statues. These include the

use of lotus plants, the fillet and bow attaching the headdress, and the shawl or bodice on female deities.

44. A. J. Bernet Kempers, "De Beelden van Tjandi Djago en hun voor-Insdisch Prototype," *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 10.6 (1933): 173–179.

45. Schoterman, "A Surviving Amoghapāśa," 157.

46. See Bernet Kempers, "De Beelden van Tjandi Djago," fig. 3.

47. S. Huntington, *The "Pāla-Sena" Schools.* Two images from Nalanda are the closest in comparison — plates 137, 138. A sculpture from Bengal (pl. 243), though more elaborate, has the same basic features.

48. See, for instance, Huntington and Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree,* pl. 40.

49. Susan L. Huntington, "Some Connections between Metal Images of Northeast India and Java," in Klokke and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture,* 65.

50. Ibid., 64–65.

51. Willem F. Stutterheim, *Oudheden van Bali,* 2 vols. (Singaradja: Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk, 1929), 1:36–37.

52. J. G. de Casparis, "Indonesian Paleography: A History of Writing in Indonesia from the Beginnings to c. A.D. 1500," in *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 61.

53. Ibid., 62.

54. Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke, *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes,* pl. 6, 35, and 59.

55. Robert Heine-Geldern, *Alt Javanische Bronzen aus dem Besitze der ethnographischen Sammlung des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wien* (Vienna: Stern, 1925), pl. 10 and 11.

56. Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Bronze Images and Their Place in Ancient Indonesian Culture," in Klokke and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture,* 85.

57. Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia,* fig. 52.

58. Further study is needed regarding connections between the sculpture (and architecture) of Java and that of Bangladesh.

59. Stutterheim, *Oudheden van Bali,* 129.

60. There is some confusion as to the identity of Dharmavangsa. Stutterheim suggests he might be Airlangga himself, though Bernet Kempers and Coedès dismiss this theory. Stutterheim, *Oudheden van Bali,* 134. Coedès states that he might be a viceroy governing in Airlangga's stead (*Indianized States,* 145), while Bernet Kempers contends it was Airlangga's older brother. A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Monumental Bali* (Berkeley: Periplus Editions, 1991), 42–43.

61. George Coedès, *Angkor: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963). Coedès' interest in the notion of the *devaraja* began as early as 1911, when he published "Note sur l'apotheose en Cambodge."

62. Coedès, *Angkor,* 22.

63. H. Kulke, *The Devaraja Cult* (Ithaca: Cornell Department of Asian Studies, 1978).

64. Hiram W. Woodward, Jr., "Practice and Belief in Ancient Cambodia: Claude Jacques' *Angkor* and the *Devarāja* Question," *JSEAS,* 32.2 (June 2001): 249–261.

65. J. Filliozat, "Sur le Civaisme et le Bouddhisme du Cambodge, a apropos de deux livres recents," *BEFEO* 70 (1981): 62–99.

66. I. W. Mabbett, "Devaraja," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 10 (1969): 202–223.

67. Nidhi Aeusrivongse, "The Devaraja Cult and Khmer Kingship at Angkor," in *Explorations in Early Southeast Asian History,* ed. Kenneth R. Hall and John Whitmore (Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1976), 107–149.

68. Clifford Geertz, "Centers, King, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 130.

69. Willem F. Stutterheim, "The Meaning of the Hindu-Javanese Candi," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 51 (1931): 1–15.

70. See Soekmono, *Javanese Candi,* 1–8.

71. Stutterheim, "The Meaning," 4–5.

72. See Klokke, "Iconography of the So-called Portrait Statues," 178–201.

73. See the discussion of the Majapahit *śrāddha* ceremony in chapter 3.

74. F. D. K. Bosch, "Uit de grensgebieden tussen Indische invloedsfeer en oud-inheems volksgeloof op Java," *BKI* 110 (1954): 9–10.

75. Published in English as Soekmono, *The Javanese Candi.*

76. Ibid., 20–22.

77. S. J. O'Connor, "Ritual Deposit Boxes in Southeast Asian Sanctuaries," *Artibus Asiae* 28.1 (1966): 53–61.

78. O'Connor's essay deals primarily with mainland Southeast Asian material. He notes that practices may have been different in Indonesia. Ibid., 58. For ritual deposits in India, see Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), 1:126–128.

79. Soekmono, *Javanese Candi,* 6.

80. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art,* 21.

81. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century,* 4:490.

82. Soekmono, *Javanese Candi,* 81.

83. *Nāg.,* canto 41:4.

84. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century,* 4:133; 5:341, 310.

85. The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* in particular has extensive lists of Buddhist, Śaivite, and other sanctuaries, as well as descriptions of specific sites. See *Nāg.,* cantos 73–78.

86. A. Teeuw et al., *Śiwarātrikalpa of Mpu Tanakung.* Bibliotheca Indonesia, 3 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969).

87. *Nāg.,* canto 32:4–5.

88. *Nāg.,* canto 36:1–2.

89. *Nāg.,* canto 37:2.

90. P. J. Zoetmulder suggests a twelfth-century date for the text based upon the name of the patron. Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan: A Survey of Old Javanese Literature* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), 305–306.

91. Soekmono, *Javanese Candi,* 99; see also summary in Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan,* 298–305.

92. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century,* 2:3.

93. It must be acknowledged, though, that a large number of the religious edifices mentioned in the *Nagarakṛtāgama* are not royal sanctuaries. Cantos 75–80 describe a vast array of free Śaivite and Buddhist sanctuaries. Further distinctions are made to Buddhist Bajradhara establishments, *ṛṣi* sanctuaries, Vaiṣṇavite freeholds, etc. Unfortunately, we do not have much information on religious practices at these establishments.

94. Kulke, *Devaraja,* 343n49.

95. These plaques are currently at the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam; Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden; Staatliche Museen Preussischen Kulturbesitz, Berlin; and in a private collection, U.S.A.

96. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Bronze Images," 81–82.

97. Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke, *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes,* 114.

98. See ibid., 115, fig. 63.

99. N. J. Krom, "Aanvulling van de beschrijving der Amoghapaca-bronzen," *OV* (1913): 45–51.

100. Inscriptions are discussed in J. S. Speyer, "Eene Buddhistische Inscriptie Afkomstig van Java," pts. 1 and 2, *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen* 4.6 (1904): 138–144, 253–262.

101. Hail, of all the phenomena that spring from a cause, the Tathagatha has defined the cause and its cessation. Thus spoke the Great Mendicant.

102. Schopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks,* 39 ff.

103. De Casparis, *Indonesian Paleography,* 36.

104. Ibid., 36, 60.

105. Schopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks,* 62. Schopen has written extensively on the idea of filial piety and the transference of merit in India. Some of the earliest known Buddhist inscriptions expressed the desire that merit be transferred to the donor's parents. See, for example, Schopen, "Filial Piety and the Monk," in *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks,* 56–71.

106. See the Kalasan inscription 778 CE (Chatterjee, *History of Indonesia,* 152–156); or, from Sumatra, the Gunung Tua inscription, 1024 CE (ibid., 196). For the Devapala inscription, ca. 850 CE, see ibid., 157–162; also see the Mahākṣobhya inscription, 1289 CE. Ibid., 184–188.

107. Schopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks,* 66.

108. *Nāg.,* canto 41:5: "In 'mountains-nine-Bhawas' Saka (1197, 1275) the King gave the order to move against the land of Malayu; Great indeed was their fear, and through his divine incarnation they were defeated."

109. *Nāg.,* canto 42:2.

110. Hall, "Economic History," 216.

111. Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke, *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes,* 10.

112. Stutterheim, "De Dateering," 288–289.

113. See Jan Wisseman Christie's analysis of these theories in "Nagara, Mandala," 67–69.

114. Stanley J. Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 47.

115. S. Huntington, *Art of Ancient India,* 85–86; several reliefs with this theme were also found at Amaravati. This Indian relief may represent the Mandhātā(ra) jātaka, which is also represented at Borobudur in Central Java. See panels Ib31–Ib50 in Frederic and Nou, *Borobudur,* 236–238.

116. S. Huntington, *Pāla-Sena,* fig. 131; Huntington and Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree,* figs. 61, 62. Some scholars posit that the images are from India rather than Burma.

117. See, for example, the fourteenth-century painting "Vajrasattva and Vajradharvisvari," in Huntington and Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree,* 336, fig. 116.

118. See, for example, two Nepalese paintings of Amoghapāśa, one from the mid-fourteenth century and the other the mid-fifteenth, in Hugo E. Krijger, "Kathmandu Valley Painting: The Jucker Collection," *Arts of Asia* 29.5 (1999): figs. 2 and 5.

119. Stanley J. Tambiah, *The Buddhist Conception of Universal King and Its Manifestations in South and Southeast Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, 1986).

120. Ibid., 10.

121. *Nāg.,* canto 17:1.

122. *Nāg.,* canto 82:3.

123. Michael Aung-Thwin, "Kingship, the Sangha, and Society in Pagan," in Hall and Whitmore, *Explorations in Early Southeast Asian History,* 215.

124. De Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions,* 206.

125. Ibid.

126. Ibid., 185.

127. Stutterheim, "De Dateering," 286–287.

128. Krom, "Een Sumatraansche Inscriptie," 326. The relevant section of the inscription reads as follows:

tatkāla pāduka bharāla āryyāmoghapāça lokeçwara, caturdaçātmikā saptaratnasahita, diāntuk . . . . dari bhūmi jāwa ka swarṇabhūmi dipratiṣtha di dharmmāçraya, akan punya çrī wiçwarūpa kumāra, prakāranaṅ ditītaḥ pāduka çrī mahārājādhirāja çrī kṛtanagara wikrama dharmmottunggadewa mangiringkan pāduka bharāla, rakryān mahāmantri dyaḥ adwayabrahma, rakryān srīkan dyaḥ sugatabrahma, mūaṅ, samagat payānan haṅ dīpangkaradāsa, rakryān damuṅpu wira, kunaṅ punyeni yogya dianumodanāñjaleḥ sakaprajā di bhūmi malāyū, brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriya waiçya sūdra, āryyāmāddhyāt, çrī mahārāja çrīmat tribhuwanarāja mauliwarmmadewa pramukha.

129. De Casparis, *Indonesian Paleography,* 44–45.

130. Ibid., 24.

131. Hendrik Kern, "De Wij-inscriptie op het Amoghapasa-beeld van Padang Tjandi," *TBG* 49 (1907): 158 (translation mine with help from Marijke Klokke).

132. B. R. Chatterjee, *India and Java,* 2 vols. (Calcutta: Greater India Society, 1933), 2:79–84.

133. Kern, "De Wij-inscriptie," 164.

134. Benyotosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1968), 86–87.

135. Marie Therese de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'iconographie du tantrisme bouddhique* (Paris: en vente, Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1975), 164.

136. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* 399.

137. Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* 9.

138. Kern, "De Wij-inscriptie," 167; Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* 9.

139. Philip Rawson, *The Art of Tantra* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 130.

140. P. H. Pott, "The Influence of Tantric Buddhism on Ancient Indonesian Civilization," *Marg* 9 (1956): 53–64.

141. David Kinsley, *Hindu Goddesses* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 207–208.

142. De Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions,* 244–279.

143. Stanley J. Tambiah, "Famous Buddha Images and the Legitimation of Kings: The Case of the Sinhala Buddha (Phra Sihing) in Thailand," *Res* 4 (1982): 5.

144. Ibid., 18.

145. Speyer, "Eene Buddhistische Inscriptie," 262.

Chapter 5: A Charnel House of Images

1. F. M. Schnitger, *Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra* (Singapore; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 83.

2. Padang Lawas is near the southern edge of the province of North Sumatra (Kecamatan Gunung Tua, Kabupaten Tapanuli Selatan, Propinsi Sumatra Utara).

3. F. M. Schnitger removed images from the site, as did an earlier visitor, Ch. van Kerchoff. Kerchoff notes in his account, published in 1889, that he was told that many antiquities were removed by followers of Imam Bonjol (a West Sumatran religious teacher and leader of the anti-Dutch resistance movement in the 1820s and 1830s). These antiquities were reputedly taken to build a nearby mosque. Ch. E. P. van Kerchoff, "Aanteekeningen betreffende eenige der in de afdeeling Padang-Lawas voorkomende Hindoe-Oudheden," *TBG* 32 (1887): 489.

4. Mulia, *Ancient Kingdom,* 14.

5. The "Batak" peoples of the interior province of North Sumatra are generally divided into the Toba, Karo, Simalungun, Pakpak-Dairi, Angkola, and Mandailing. They are thought to have common heritage stemming from the region around Lake Toba. In recent times, some of these groups have sought to define themselves as non-Batak, in part because the term "Batak" has been predominantly used to refer to the group living around Lake Toba. For an excellent discussion of this subject, see Leonard Y. Andaya, "The Trans-Sumatra Trade and the Ethnicization of the 'Batak,'" *BKI* 158.3 (2002): 367–409.

6. There is some evidence of Hindu worship at the site as well.

7. John Miksic, "Classical Archaeology in Sumatra," *Indonesia* 30 (October 1980): 59.

8. These niches are thought to have contained a Buddha image and lions. Schnitger reports that "[o]n the north side sat a Buddha holding the hands in dhwaja mudra." Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* 25.

9. While paintings of this deity are found in Nepal and Tibet, relatively few sculptures have been unearthed in India or Southeast Asia. Some images of multilimbed forms of Heruka, known as Hevajra, have been found both in India and on mainland Southeast Asia. For India see Debala Mitra, "Some Images of Heruka/Hevajra," *Nalinīkānta-Śatavārṣkī: Dr. N. K. Bhattasali Centenary Volume (1888–1988): Studies in the Art and Archaeology of Bihar and Bengal,* ed. Debala Mitra and Gouriswar Bhattachara, Sri Garib Dass Oriental Series, 83 (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1989), 179–188; and idem, "Notes on Heruka/Hevajra and a Few Images of This Vajrayana Deity," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology: Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura* (1997–1998): 377–392.

10. Mulia, *Ancient Kingdom,* 9.

11. Bernet Kempers states that "skulls adorn his head and breast," but they are not apparent in the photograph. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art,* 77.

12. According to Schnitger, a small cavity, one centimeter wide by two centimeters deep, was carved above the left ear of Heruka. F. M. Schnitger, *Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Padang Lawas* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1936), 40. This was also true of the bhairava found at Biaro Si Pamutung (also in Padang Lawas), as well as an image of Śiva from East Java. Schnitger hypothesizes that it was possibly used to attach a mask to the image in order to make the image into a portrait. He refers to the Nirmaṇḍ mask of Mujunīdevī of Kuḷū as an Indian example. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (New York: Dover, 1985), 108, fig. 273. Schnitger's theory is the product of the period when scholars still believed that many Indonesian sculptures were "portrait statues." Van Erp suggested that perhaps the cavity was for a flower, as can be seen on many images in Bali today.

13. A fragment of the image was analyzed in Holland. Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* 26n66.

14. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, "Iconography of Heruka," *Indian Culture* 2 (July 1935): 24–25.

15. Rob Linrothe describes the development of *krodha-vighnāntaka* images in India in *Ruthless Compassion: Wrathful Deities in Early Indo-Tibetan Esoteric Buddhist Art* (Boston: Shambala, 1999). The earliest images of these "destroyers of obstacles" were attendant figures to bodhisattvas, but eventually they became the central figures of worship.

16. He is also known as Vajraḍāka, Samvara, and many other names.

17. Mallar Mitra identifies eight *sādhana* dedicated to Heruka (Sādhana nos. 241–246, 248, 249) in the *Sādhanamālā.* Mallar Mitra, "A Sculpture with Heruka and Nairātmā in the Newark Museum," *Berliner Indologische Studien* 11–12 (1998): 367.

18. *Divibhuja Heruka Herukasādhanaṃ Sādhanamāla,* A-258, Na-50–51, C-20. The *Sādhanamāla* consists of more than three hundred *sādhana* composed by various authors over a number of years. The earliest dated manuscript is from 1165 CE. K. Krishna Murthy, *Sculptures of Vajrayana Buddhism* (Delhi: Classics India Publications, 1989), 17.

19. Krishna Murthy, *Sculptures,* 18.

20. See K. R. van Kooij, "Some Iconographical Data from the Kālikāpurāṇa with Special Reference to Heruka and Ekajaṭā," in *South Asian Archaeology 1973,* ed. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and J. M. M. Ubaghs (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 161–170.

21. Kooij, "Some Iconographical Data," 162.

22. Canto 125 of Santoso, *Sutasoma,* 522.

23. Satyawati Suleiman, *The Archaeology and History of West Sumatra,* Bulletin of the Research Centre of Archaeology of Indonesia, 12 (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional, Departemen P & K, 1977), 5–6.

24. Pott, *Yoga and Yantra,* 68.

25. There are Javanese bronzes of other forms of this deity, see for instance, the image of Mahākāla, in Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke, *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes,* pl. 45. Images of Hevajra are found in Cambodia and Thailand. For Khmer images see Hiram W. Woodward, Jr., "Tantric Buddhism at Angkor Thom," *Ars Orientalis* 12 (1981): 57–64; Pratyapaditya Pal, "Heruka/Hevajra in Khmer Art — A Preliminary Study," *Oriental Art* 40.4 (1994–1995): 13–20; Wibke Lobo, "The Figure of Hevajra and Tantric Buddhism," in *Sculpture of Angkor and Ancient Cambodia: Millennium of Glory,* ed. Helen Jessup and Thierry Zephir (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1997), 71–78.

26. The sixteen-armed Hevajra is very common in Tibet. Many images of this god are found in sculpture and *thangka* paintings in Tibet, and some have been found in Nepal, China, Cambodia, and Thailand.

27. Krishna Murthy, *Sculptures,* 20, 24–26, pl. 9.

28. Saraswati, *Tantrayāna Art,* pls. 171, 172.

29. There is also an image of Heruka and his consort in the Newark Museum. See M. Mitra, "A Sculpture with Heruka." Twelfth-century *Prajñaparamita* texts often depict the deity (e.g., Linrothe, *Ruthless Compassion,* color plate 13.)

30. The Heruka statue was found in a banyan grove about thirty meters southeast of Monastery One. At least four funerary *stūpa* with images of Heruka were also found at the site. Linrothe, *Ruthless Compassion,* 251–255.

31. A multiheaded and multiarmed statue of Hevajra was also found in Bangladesh, at Pāhāṛpur. S. Huntington, *Art of Ancient India,* 399.

32. Linrothe, *Ruthless Compassion,* 259.

33. F. D. K. Bosch, "Verslag van een reis door Sumatra," *OV* (1930): 148; see also Mulia, *Ancient Kingdom,* 25–27.

34. Four inscriptions in the Tamil language have been found in Sumatra. Evidence of a settlement of Tamil merchants is found in an eleventh-century inscription from Lobo Tuwa near the important port of Barus on the west coast of Sumatra. See Jan Wisseman Christie, "The Medieval Tamil-language Inscriptions in Southeast Asia and China," *JSEAS* 29.2 (1998): 239–268.

35. As Mulia points out, there are various spellings for Panai. Mulia, *Ancient Kingdom,* 5. In the Tamil inscription it is spelled *paṇṇai,* a word that means an agricultural tract or cultivated plot of land in Tamil.

36. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The History of Śrī Vijaya* (Madras: University of Madras, 1949), 80, 131. The inscription is on the wall of the Rājarājesśvara temple in Tanjore.

37. Kadāram is thought to be Kedah on the coast of Malaysia. For another opinion see K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, "Kaṭāha," *Journal of the Greater India Society* 5.2 (1938): 128–146.

38. Sastri doubts that an earlier attack in 1017 ever occurred, and writes that the second expedition "had obviously no permanent political results; a vague acknowledgement of Cōḷa supremacy was doubtless extracted before the expedition returned to South

India; but of a permanent and continuous subordination of Śrīvijaya to the Cōḷa power, there is no trace whatever. Even in South India, the Cōḷas did not displace the ruling dynasties in conquered territory." Sastri, *History of Śrī Vijaya,* 79–82. See also Coedès, *Indianized States,* 142–143.

39. Museum Nasional no. B.626 d. One of the Tārās is now missing.

40. Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* 32.

41. Bosch dated the piece to 1024 CE; "Verslag," 144. Damais reinterpreted the date as 1039 CE.

42. The Si Topayan inscription reads, *"pu sapta hang buddhi sang imba hang langgar tat [kā] laitu babwat biyara paduka çri mahārāja"* (this is a memorial of pu Sapta hang Buddhi sang Imba and (?) hang Langgar, commemorating the making of a *vihara* for His Majesty the King). Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* 31–32. According to van Stein Callenfels, "De beide inscripties zijn in Oud-Javaansche letters, doch hebben de karakters een merkwaardigen, hoekigen vorm, ongetwijfeld den vorm vertegenwoordigende, waaruit het moderne Batakschrift is ontstaan" (both inscriptions are in Old Javanese script, but the characters have a distinctive, hooking form, undoubtedly representative of the form, from which the Batak script is derived). P. V. van Stein Callenfels, "Rapport over een Dienstreis door een Deel van Sumatra," *OV* (1920): 66.

43. Willem F. Stutterheim, "De Archaeologische Verzameling," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 4 (1937): 147–148. The script used in this inscription has been compared to the inscription at Muara Takus in the Riau province of Sumatra to the south of Padang Lawas. This was another isolated Buddhist temple complex that has been dated to the fourteenth century.

44. See chapter 4 and Kern, "De Wij-inscriptie," 159–170.

45. Stutterheim, "De Archaeologische," 148–150.

46. See Christie, "Medieval Tamil-language Inscriptions."

47. Ibid., 257–258.

48. F. M. Schnitger, "De Tempel van Simangambat (Zuid Tapanoeli)," *TBG* 76 (1936): 332–335.

49. Christie, "Medieval Tamil-language Inscriptions," 264.

50. "The antiquities of Si Mangambat more to the south, where stone ornaments and kala heads have been found was *[sic]* undoubtedly a Sivaitic temple but dating from much earlier, probably from the 8th or 9th century." Mulia, *Ancient Kingdom,* 18. A *nāga* pedestal, similar to some *yonis* from Java, was found at Biaro Bara. Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* 30. At Si Pamutung, Schnitger reports finding an unusual *liṇga* set on a double-lotus cushion with a lotus-bud finial and suggests that perhaps this was evidence of syncretism. Schnitger, *Oundheidkundige Vondsten,* 11, and *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* 21, pl. XXXVIII. Also, an image from Biaro Si Joreng Belangah appears to depict the goddess Lajjā Gaurī. Schnitger, *Forgotten Kingdoms,* pl. VI 2. (Thanks to Carol Bolon for pointing this out to me.)

51. See Bambang Budi Utomo, "Penelitian Arkeologi Tapak Percandian Tanah Abang 1991–1992," *Jurnal Arkeologi Malaysia* 6 (1993): 10–40.

52. *Nāg.,* canto 13:1, line 3.

53. Sastri, *History of Śrī Vijaya,* 81; Coedès, *Indianized States,* 142.

54. Paul Wheatley suggests that the word *paṇṇai* in the inscription might indicate

simply that Śrīvijaya was an irrigated territory. Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1961), 199.

55. De Casparis and Mabbett, "Religion and Popular Beliefs," 322.

56. Mulia, *Ancient Kingdom,* 5.

57. Ibid.

58. See Franz Junghuhn, *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1947); H. von Rosenberg, "Hindoe-bouwvallen in het landschap Padang-Lawas (Binnenlanden van Sumatra)," *TBG* 3 (1855); and Kerchoff, "Aanteekeningen."

59. P. V. van Stein Callenfels was both a figurative and literal giant. The Javanese gave him the nickname "Kumbakarna," after the giant in the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

60. Van Stein Callenfels, "Rapport," 62–75; Bosch, "Verslag," 133–167; Schnitger, *Forgotten Kingdoms;* Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra;* Schnitger, *Oudheidkundige Vondsten.* For a longer list of previous scholarship, see Bambang Budi Utomo, "Kompleks Percandian Padang Lawas: Sebuah Kompleks Pusat Upacara Agama Buddha Wajrayana," *Jurnal Arkeologi Malaysia* 9 (1996): 66.

61. See Satyawati Suleiman, "Peninggalan-Peninggalan Purbakala di Padang Lawas" [1954], *Amerta: Berkala Arkeologi* 2 (1985): 23–37.

62. Mulia, *Ancient Kingdom.*

63. These restoration efforts have not been without criticism. See E. Edwards McKinnon, "Tapanuli: The Rugged Southern Bataklands," in *Sumatra: Island of Adventure,* ed. Eric Oey (Lincolnwood: Passport Books, 1996), 114.

64. Also unusual was a platform in its compound that was built of natural stone rather than brick.

65. This gesture is also seen in east Javanese *dvārapālas,* but with the fingers of the right hand. See, for instance, the guardian at Singasari (fig. 6.10.)

66. Mulia, *Ancient Kingdom,* 18. Scholars are unsure of both the function and the iconography of many of these pieces.

67. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Stūpa in Indonesia," 284. For illustrations see Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* plates XXIV, XXVI.

68. Ibid., pl. XXXVIII.

69. Ibid., pl. XXV and XLI.

70. Mulia, *Ancient Kingdom,* 8.

71. F. D. K. Bosch, "Verslag," 145.

72. Large *kāla* heads were found at Biaro Sangkilon and Biaro Si Mangambat; see Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* pl. XLI; and Bosch, "Verslag," pl. 29a.

73. Similar *makaras* were also made near the site of Muara Jambi. An example there was 1.21 meters high. See Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* pl. XI.

74. These are the "finds" to which Schnitger refers in the epigraph of this chapter.

75. See Miksic, *Art of Indonesia,* 75. For a discussion of the masked dance tradition in Mongolia see Patricia Berger, "Buddhist Festivals in Mongolia," in *Mongolia: The Legacy of Chinggis Khan,* ed. Patricia Berger and Terese Tse Bartholomew (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 149–152. Masks like that of Yama (Berger, cat. no. 40) bear an intriguing resemblance to the ox mask of Biaro Pulo.

76. Van Stein Callenfels, "Rapport," plate 7, shows that these figures once stood upon *kāla*-like monsters. This is not evident in the restoration.

77. Bosch proposes that the identity of the figures at both Biaro Pulo and Bahal I are *yakṣas.* See F. D. K. Bosch, "On Some Groups of Yakṣa Figures in Indonesian and Khmer Art," *Artibus Asiae* 22.3 (1949): 227–239.

78. The main temple measures 10.6 square meters.

79. Mulia, *Ancient Kingdom,* 12.

80. Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* 24.

81. See note 50.

82. Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* 27.

83. See John Miksic's introduction to Schnitger's *Forgotten Kingdoms* for a summary of some of the other critiques of Schnitger's work and writings. Schnitger, *Forgotten Kingdoms,* x–xv.

84. Saraswati, *Tantrayāna Art,* LVIX–LX.

85. Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* 22.

86. Mulia (*Ancient Kingdom,* 12) points out that the bronze is very similar to a bronze head excavated in Indropuro, West Sumatra. See also Suleiman, *West Sumatra,* pl. 4.

87. Schnitger, *Forgotten Kingdoms,* 74.

88. Ibid.

89. Linrothe, *Ruthless Compassion,* 232.

90. Ibid.

91. *The History of Buddhism in India,* written by Tāranātha in 1608, describes Ratnagiri as a site populated by five hundred monks who kept both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna *śastras.* Debala Mitra, *Ratnagiri, 1958–1961* (New Delhi: Archaeological Service of India, 1981–1983), 16. Sukumar Dutt, a scholar of Indian Buddhism, points out that

> monks of different sects could live in the same saṅgha. For this there is evidence both from inscriptions discovered in the monastic ruins and the eye-witness accounts of the Chinese pilgrims. Although there were monasteries exclusively occupied by Mahāyānist or by Hīnayānist monks, or by monks of a particular sect, co-existence of different sects in a saṅgha seems to have been the normal practice.

Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962), 177.

92. Robert Heine-Geldern, "The Archaeology and Art of Sumatra," in *Sumatra: Its History and Its People,* ed. Edwin M. Loeb (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 325.

93. A reputation enhanced by the isolation of the region, which was not reached by Westerners until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. No doubt the fear was enhanced when missionaries, like the Boston pair Lyman and Munsen, were eaten. E. Edwards McKinnon, "Introducing North Sumatra," in Oey, *Sumatra,* 81.

94. Rita Kipp Smith, "The Batak: Flamboyant Peoples of the Highlands," in Oey, *Sumatra,* 86.

95. Marco Polo, *Travels of Marco Polo,* trans. Ronald Latham (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958), 227–228.

96. Marco Polo has long been criticized for exaggeration (or even outright lies). In fact, later in this same passage he tells of unicorns and men with tails a palm in length.

For more criticism of Marco Polo, see Frances Wood, *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996).

97. Smith, "The Batak," 86.

98. According to the German geographer Franz Junghuhn, "People do the honest Battaer an injustice when it is said that they sell human flesh in the markets, and that they slaughter their old people as soon as they are unfit for work. . . . They eat human flesh only in wartimes, when they are enraged, and in a few legal instances." Achim Sibeth, *The Batak* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 17.

99. Janet Hoskins, *Headhunting and the Social Imagination in Southeast Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 41.

100. Mulia, *Ancient Kingdom,* 9.

101. The *khaṭvaṅga* is often associated with Padmasambhava, the revered eighth-century Indian guru famous for taming the demons and spreading esoteric Buddhism to Tibet.

102. Most documented examples are either Toba or Karo Batak, but according to J. P. Barbier, such staffs are found among all Batak groups. Jean Paul Barbier and Douglas Newton, eds. *Islands and Ancestors: Indigenous Styles of Southeast Asia* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), 212.

103. This myth was recorded in a Batak manuscript now in the Linden Museum. For an extensive discussion of this myth see W. H. Rassers, "On the Batak Magic Staff," in *W. H. Rassers and the Batak Magic Staff,* ed. Michael Prager and Pieter ter Keurs (Leiden: Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 1998), 53–138.

104. Ibid.

105. After William Marsden's early accounts of the Batak in his history of Sumatra, Westerners were amazed to learn that the "cannibal" Batak had their own script and literature. The literature consists of books of magic formulas and oracular formulas or laments written on bamboo tubes. See Marsden, *History of Sumatra.* For examples of books and tubes, see Sibeth, *The Batak.*

106. Jamaluddin S. Hasibuan, *Batak Art and Culture* (Medan: J. Hasibuan, 1986), 127.

107. Kooij, "Some Iconographical Data," 167.

108. Pott, *Yoga and Yantra,* 143.

109. Pott, "The Influence," 62.

110. Luckily, archaeologists were able to piece the statue together and to eventually decipher the inscription on the back. The sculpture was identified by Damais as Cāmuṇḍā, a form of Durga, and given the date 1214 Śaka or 1292 CE. Louis-Charles Damais, "Etudes javanaises II, le nom de la déité tantrique de 1214 Saka," *BEFEO* 50 (1962): 407–416. Other examples of fragmentary sculpture can be found in Fontein, "Piecing Together Fragments," 2–23.

111. Von Rosenberg, "Hindoe-bouwvallen," 61.

112. Van Kerchoff, "Aanteekeningen," 489. "Legenden bestaan omtrent deze oudheid niet, eenige oude hoofden deelden wij alleen mede, dat voor zoo ver zij vernomen hadden het tempeltje er reeds was toen de Batakkers van het plateau van Toba uit, de Padang-Lawas bevolkten."

113. Mulia, *Ancient Kingdom,* 9.

114. Sibeth, *The Batak,* 21.

115. Miksic, "Classical Archaeology," 58–59. Muara Takus in the province of Riau in Central Sumatra is another example of a Buddhist temple complex in a region devoid of signs of large-scale human settlement.

116. See, for instance, J. Tideman, *Hindoe-invloed in noordelijk Batakland,* Uitgeven van het Bataksch Instituut, 23 (Amsterdam: Drukkerrij "De Valk," 1936).

117. McKinnon, "Introducing North Sumatra," 82.

118. Ibid.

119. David Snellgrove, "Syncretism as a Main Feature of Indonesian Culture, as Seen by One Used to Another Kind of Civilization," *Indonesia Circle* 56 (November 1991): 30. In a footnote Snellgrove writes, " I am reminded in present day Java the title Bhatara Guru would normally refer to Siva, but this need be no argument against its popular use in a Buddhist context in an earlier period. I can immediately point to its use (Sanskrit: bhataraka) in the opening verses of the *Hevajra-Tantra,* where it is effectively the equivalent of Bhagavan, the Lord (Buddha)" (37).

120. It is interesting that although there are a large number of words derived from Sanskrit in Batak languages, fewer are derived from Tamil.

121. Anwar Harahap et al., *Asal-Usul Marga Marga Tapanuli Selatan* (Medan: YMG Punguan Manula Marga-Marga Tapanuli Selatan, 1994), 338.

122. Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* 17.

123. Miksic, *Borobudur,* 17.

124. For more on conditions of antiquities in this area see Endang Sri Hardiati Soekatno, "Arca-Arca Buddha, Temuan Baru Dari Sumatera Utara," in *Cinandi: Persembahan Alumni Jurusan Arkeologi, Universitas Gadjah Mada Kepada Prof. Dr. H. R. Soekmono,* ed. Inajati Adrisijanti et al. (Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1997), 240–243. In this article she notes the existence in 1994 of pieces of the Heruka at the site museum. In 1998, Biaro Joreng showed signs of having been recently looted.

125. While many Batak peoples living around Lake Toba are Protestant or Catholic, most of the Angkola and Mandailing Batak who live to the south of this region near Padang Lawas converted to Islam in the nineteenth century.

Chapter 6: The National Museum's Monumental Bhairava

1. The monumental Akṣobhya, discussed in chapter 2, is larger, but unfinished.

2. The pattern is discussed in R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, "Historische gegevens uit de Smaradahana," *TBG* 58 (1919): 461–489, and F. D. K. Bosch, "Naschrift," *TBG* 58 (1919): 490–492.

3. Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer told me of a second Javanese sculpture with a kind of body hair — an East Javanese image of Panji that has evident underarm hair. See Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesia Art,* pl. 321.

4. When the Dutch first discovered the sculpture, C. M. Pleyte described the image as Amitabha Buddha, but the *bhūmisparśa mudrā* would indicate Akṣobhya. As noted in chapter 2, this cosmic Buddha was an important deity in East Java in the thirteenth and

fourteenth centuries. C. M. Pleyte, "Over een paar Hindoebeelden van Padang-tjandi (Batang Hari-districten)" *TBG* 49 (1907): 176.

5. Ibid., 177. Although it is difficult to see the head closely, even with a telephoto lens, it is difficult to imagine where this third eye would have been on the bhairava's narrow forehead.

6. In Hinduism, Hayagrīva is associated with avatars of Viṣṇu in the form of a dwarf or horse. Scholars think he became a part of the Buddhist pantheon around the sixth century CE. At Candi Jago he is one of four attendants to Amoghapāśa. Schoterman, "A Surviving Amoghapāśa," 154–177.

7. For a discussion of *dvārapāla* in Indonesia, see H. A. van Bemmelen, *Dvarapalas in Indonesia: Temple Guardians and Acculturation* (Rotterdam: Brookfield, 1994).

8. Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer examines the tendency toward demonic imagery in Indonesian sculpture (including guardian figures, Garuḍa, *nāgas,* Kāla heads, Gaṇeśa, Hanuman, and Durgā) in her essay "Skulls, Fangs and Serpents: A New Development in East Javanese Iconography," in Lobo and Reimann, *Southeast Asian Archaeology,* 189–204.

9. In Tibet, Nepal, and Mongolia, Mahākāla became an important tutelary deity in his own right within the Buddhist pantheon. Myths describe his taming by Avalokiteśvara; he is sometimes even considered to be a terrific manifestation of that god. Mahākāla had a perhaps even more important role in Mongolian Buddhism, where his qualities became linked to political power. This deity's ongoing importance in Mongolian Buddhism stemmed from his role in the conversion of Khubilai Khan. According to Mongolian chronicles, Khubilai Khan was initiated into the rites of the *Hevajra tantra* as a result of the intervention of Mahākāla, and only after Khubilai had been assured he would attain the qualities of the god. Patricia Berger, "After Xanadu: The Mongol Renaissance of the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," in *Mongolia: The Legacy of Chinggis Khan,* ed. Patricia Berger and Terese Tse Bartholomew (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 54.

10. For other examples see Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Skulls, Fangs," 189–204.

11. Dawee Daweewarn, *Brahmanism in South-East Asia* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1982), 196.

12. This Indian image of Gaṇeśa is illustrated in D. Hanumanta, "A Unique Sculpture of Ganapati from Sankaram," in *Sri Ramachandrika (Professor Oruganti Ramachandraiya Festschrift): Essays on Indian Archaeology, History, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Art, and Religion,* ed. A. V. N. Murthy and I. K. Sarma (Delhi: Book India Publishing, 1993), 347–350. This image is carved in low relief on the entrance to a cave in Andhra Pradesh. It appears that Gaṇeśa served as a type of guardian figure to a Buddhist cave. Stylistically this Indian sculpture is very different from the statues found in Java, but it does raise the interesting possibility that some of the Javanese Gaṇeśa may not necessarily have been considered Hindu images.

13. The stylization of the *kāla* pattern illustrates the Majapahit-era evolution of the motif. The two eyes have merged into one large one.

14. A chronogram on the base of the pedestal of the Boro Gaṇeśa gives the date 1239. Edi Sedyawati states that the sculpture was moved to Boro from Jimbé. Edi Sedyawati,

Gaṇeśa Statuary of the Kaḍiri and Sinhasāri Periods: A Study of Art History (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994), 115. Both P. H. Pott and Lunsingh Scheurleer question the date of the statue and think that perhaps the skull imagery was added years after the image was originally carved. P. H. Pott, "Four Demonic Gaṇeśas from East Java," *Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde* (Leiden), 15 (1962): 131; Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Skulls, Fangs," 193–194. Other seated images of less clear or questionable provenance include a twelve-centimeter-high image of unknown origin (now in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam; see Sedyawati, *Gaṇeśa Statuary,* 345), and another of unknown origin in the Museum National, Jakarta (ibid., 343).

15. Although standing images of Gaṇeśa appear with some frequency in Bali, they are rare in Java. Edi Sedyawati mentions only five. *Gaṇeśa Statuary,* 61. Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer mentions a sixth in her article "Ganesha van de Berg Semeru: Een staande Ganesha aan de Wandel," *Aziatische Kunst* 30.4 (December 2000): 13–15.

16. The Mount Semeru Gaṇeśa also has the interesting feature of a conch shell as an ear ornament. Alice Getty traces this iconography to Ballaur, Deopara, in Rajashahi district and the Tripuri state. Alice Getty, *Gaṇeśa: A Monograph on the Elephant-faced God* (New Delhi: Munhiram Manoharlal, 1936), 16.

17. Soekmono, *Chandi Gumpung,* 6.

18. Occasionally *kāla* (monster) heads were carved on the back of Gaṇeśa statues (as at Boro), thus emphasizing their apotropaic nature.

19. Pott, "Four Demonic Gaṇeśas," 123–131.

20. Sedyawati, *Gaṇeśa Statuary,* 240–248.

21. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Ganesha van Singosari op bezoek," *Aziatische Kunst* 28.2 (June 1998): 2–17; and "Skulls, Fangs," 189–204.

22. Sedyawati, *Gaṇeśa Statuary,* 114–126, 248. Long inscriptions that either seek success in the undertaking of a task or proclaim a curse have been found on eight Gaṇeśa statues.

23. There are several other examples of demonic deities of this type from East Java. See, for instance, the bhairava from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia,* 167.

24. Scholars have not been able to use this inscription to help identify the image.

25. Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia,* 162. Scholars have emphasized the difficulty in differentiating between Śaivite bhairavas and Buddhist demonic figures such as Mahākāla.

> These two deities have so many iconographic characteristics in common that it is often difficult to draw clear distinctions between them. Not only in India but also in Indonesia, the identity of statues of these deities can often not be determined with certainty. This is especially true of statues created during the Majapahit period when Buddhism and Hinduism became closely entwined.

Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia,* 167.

26. This twenty-inch sandstone sculpture of Batuka-Bhairava image was found at Vieng Sra in the Thai isthmus. It has many of the same attributes as the Singasari bhairava, but is stylistically very different. Stanley O'Connor thinks that it is a Cōḷa image from the tenth or eleventh century, although other scholars think the statue was made

locally. Stanley J. O'Connor, "Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam," *Artibus Asiae,* Supplementum 28 (1972): 60–63 and fig. 33.

27. Jessy Blom suggests that the head of the figure is a replacement and that the original was possibly looted. She appears to be correct as the current head fits the body of the statue somewhat awkwardly, is not finely carved, and is perhaps hewn from a different type of stone. Blom, *Antiquities,* 61–65.

28. Ibid., 62–63.

29. The sculpture was intentionally smashed apart by a local landowner who believed it had a malevolent influence. *OV* (1928): 27 ff. The sculpture is now in the Trowulan Museum.

30. In most Indian texts this goddess is known as Cāmuṇḍā, and is described and depicted in a terrible and bloodthirsty fashion. A second, strikingly similar image of this goddess without attendants is in the Rijksmuseum Leiden.

31. In an Indian context this figure would call to mind the river goddess Gaṅgā, who is often shown standing or seated on a *makara.* P. H. Pott interprets this figure as Trivenī, the personification of the confluence of the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and Sarasvati. He posits that the figure might represent the yogic sphere of Mūlādhāra. Pott, *Yoga and Yantra,* 132. River goddesses are rarely depicted in Javanese art, and most images of female figures seated on fish are associated with Sri Tañjung, a character from Javanese literature. Depictions of Sri Tañjung can be found at Candi Surowono and Candi Panataran in East Java. The story of Sri Tañjung comes from a *kidung,* a type of poem written in Middle Javanese with a Javanese meter. If the small image above Gaṇeśa in the Cāmuṇḍī sculpture is indeed Sri Tañjung, it would be thematically fitting. In the story Sri Tañjung is associated with the demonic form of Pārvatī, who is her savior. She is also associated with death, purification, and rebirth, all of which take place in the cemetery.

32. Hariani Santiko, "Early Research," 58.

33. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century,* 1:104–107; 2:135–136; 3:151–155. Also Brandes, *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden,* 207–210.

34. Yamin, *Tata Negara Majapahit,* 119–121.

35. Th. P. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran* ('s-Gravenhage: Nederland Boek en Steendrukkerij, 1924). See in particular the seventh section, pages 104–128, and Pigeaud's notes on this material.

36. Because of a description in the *Tantu Panggelaran* featuring the self-sacrifice of several priests for Śiva, Santiko proposes that the Javanese Bhairawapaksa was a Kāpālika sect. Santiko, "Early Research," 66. I do not think there is enough evidence for this assumption. For more information on the Kāpālika sect in India, see Lorenzen, *Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas.*

37. Marie Therese de Mallmann, "Divinités Hindoues dans le Tantrisme bouddhique," *Arts Asiatiques* 10 (1964): 67–86. Phyllis Granoff also discusses a few other examples in "Maheśvara/Mahākāla: A Unique Buddhist Image from Kaśmīr," *Artibus Asiae* 41.1 (1979): 64–82.

38. De Mallmann, "Divinités Hindoues," 76.

39. Stutterheim, "De Dateering," 245–320. For more on these systems of dating, see chapter 3.

40. Schnitger, *Forgotten Kingdoms,* 24–25.

41. See Soekmono, *Chandi Gumpung,* 6.

42. Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* 8.

43. See Surya Helmi, Marsis Sutopo, Teguh Hidayat, and Budi Istiawan, "Kepurbakalaan DAS Batanghari, Sumatera Barat: Suatu Paparan Singkat," in Adrisijanti et al., *Cinandi,* 51–60.

44. The *Jakarta Post* reported that five statues were discovered in the compound and that "one of them is a giant statue that resembles the Adityawarman statue in the Jakarta National Museum." I have been unable to confirm any discovery of a second statue of this type. Kasparman, "Hindu and Buddhist archeological sites found in West Sumatra," *Jakarta Post,* 27 September 2002.

45. Although Garuḍa is most often associated with the Hindu god Viṣnu, in certain contexts he is also seen with the Buddhist deity Mahākāla. This bronze discovered here appears to be a utilitarian item, with possibly no iconic use.

46. See Marsis Sutopo, *Laporan Survai Pendataan Arkeologi DAS Batang Hari dan Ekskavasi Candi Sungai Langsat* (Batusangkar: Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Wilayah Provinsi Sumatera Barat dan Riau, 1992): 8; McKinnon, "Early Polities," 30; Coedès, *Indianized States,* 244; Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis,* 416.

47. Malāyu has generally been equated with the coastal region near the present city of Jambi. Scholars think this capital moved inland in the mid-fourteenth century. For an interesting reassessment of the significance of Malāyu in Sumatran history, see de Casparis, "Srivijaya and Malayu."

48. *Nāg.,* canto 13:1.

49. J. G. de Casparis, "Malayu dan Adityawarman," in *Seminar Sejarah Malayu Kuno, Jambi, 7–8 Desember 1992* (Jambi: Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat I Jambi Bekerjasama Dengan Kantor Wilayah Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jambi, 1992), 242–243. The apparent geographical impermanence of capitals has led to much confusion in the compiling of ancient Sumatran history. The fact that realms, cities, and capitals often had the same name did not help clarify matters. For more on this see Geertz, *Negara,* 4.

50. Christine Dobbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy: Central Sumatra, 1784–1847,* Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, 47 (London and Malmö: Curzon, 1983), 66. Historians note that the region most likely also had a role in the control of the trade of camphor and bezoin from the interior to the coasts.

51. He is called Kaṇakamedinīndra in the Kubu Rajo I inscription (Hendrik Kern, "Het Sanskrit-inschrift op den grafsteen van Vorst Ādityawarman te Kubur Raja [Menangkabau; ± 1300 Çaka]," *VG* 7 [1917]: 217), Mahārājāadirāja in the Amoghapāśa inscription (Kern, "De Wij-inscriptie," 168), as well as Prasasti Pagarruyung I and Prasasti Ombilin.

52. Brandes, *Pararaton,* 124. It is also mentioned in *Nāg.,* canto 41:5.

53. Brandes, *Pararaton,* 92.

54. Machi Suhadi, "Silsilah Adityawarman," *Saraswati: Esai-Esai Arkeologi. Kalpataru Majalah Arkeologi* 9 (1990): 231.

55. Sastri, *History of Śrī Vijaya,* 100; de Casparis, "Srivijaya and Malayu," 249. Aday-

awarman is mentioned in the Kubu Rajo I inscription; see Kern, “Het Sanskrit-inschrift,” 217–221.

56. For translations of Ādityawarman’s inscriptions into Dutch and Indonesian, see Hendrik Kern, “Het zoogenaamde rotinschrift van ‘Batu Beragung’ in Menangkabau (1269 en 1297 Çāka.),” *VG* 6 (1917): 251–263; idem, “Nog iets over het opschrift van Pagarruyung,” *VG* 6 (1917): 266–275; idem, “De Wij-inscriptie”; F. D. K. Bosch, “De Inscriptie op het Manjusri beeld van 1265 Saka,” *BKI* 77 (1921): 194–201; Hasan Djafar, “Prasasti-Prasasti Masa Kerajaan Malayu Kuna dan Beberapa Permasalahannya,” in *Seminar Sejarah Malayu Kuno Jambi,* 51–80; Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Wilayah Provinsi Sumatera Barat dan Riau, “Kumpulan Prasasti-Prasasti Adityawarman (Sumatera Barat)” (unpublished transcript, 1995–1996); Machi Suhadi, *Prasasti-Prasasti Adityawarman* (Jakarta: Proyek Pengembangan Media Kebudayaan Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, 1995–1996). The only translations in English are by Sastri, *History of Śrī Vijaya,* 135–137, and Chatterjee, *India and Java,* 75–86; both rely heavily on Kern.

57. See Rouffaer, in Brandes, *Beschrijving van de ruïne,* 99 ff. Some scholars think the statue may today be in Russia.

58. This sculpture is quite different from earlier images of Mañjuśrī. Bronzes from Central Java tend to show the youthful form of the bodhisattva *(kumara-bhuta).* In that form he is seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand in *varada mudrā* and his left holding a blue lotus upon which rests a book.

59. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā,* 2 vols. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1968), 2:clix.

60. It is very similar to an eleventh-century Bengali example from Jalkundi, now in the Dacca Museum. Saraswati, *Tantrayāna Art,* XXI, pl. 27.

61. Bosch, “De Inscriptie op het Manjusri,” 194, transcribes the inscription as follows:

Āryyawaṅçādhirājena
Mañjuçrīs supratiṣṭhitaḥ /
pañcaṣaḍdwiçaçāṅkābde
dharmmawṛddhyai Jinālaye //
Rājye Çrīwararājapatniwjite[ḥ] tadbaṅçajaḥ suddhadhīḥ
cakre Jāwamahītale waraguṇair Ādityawarmmāpy asau /
mantrī prauḍhataro Jinālayapure prāsādam atyādbhutam
mātātātasuhṛjjanān samasukhaṃ netum bhawāt tatparaḥ //
// i çaka 1265 //

Commentary on the inscription can be found in Brandes, *Beschrijving van de ruïne,* 101; Suhadi, “Silsilah Ādityawarman,” 219–220; Suhadi, *Prasasti-Prasasti,* 12–13.

62. Bosch interprets *Jina dharma* to mean a temple compound. Bosch, “De Inscriptie op het Manjusri,” 195.

63. *“Rajye Sriwararajapatniwijiteh tadbang sajahasuddhadhih / cakre Jawamadhitale waragunair Adityawar mmapy asau / matri praudhataro Jinalayapure prasadam atyadbhutam / mata suhrjjanam samasukhamm netum bhawat tat parah // I Saka 1265 //.”* Suhadi, *Prasasti-Prasasti,* 12.

64. Bosch notes that *prauḍha* means "mature" and is a synonym of *wṛeddha*. Bosch, "De Inscriptie op het Manjusri," 196.

65. Bosch refers to two Javanese inscriptions. The first (Nglawang) mentions a functionary by the name of pamget I Tirwan with the title sang āryya Wançadhirāja ḍang ācāryya Çiwanātha. In the second, the Bendosari inscription, a figure named pamget I Tiwan ḍang ācāryya Çiwanātha is mentioned and is referred to as a member of the Bhairava sect. Bosch, "De Inscriptie op het Manjusri," 198–199. Suhadi interprets Aryawangsadhirajana as an assistant to Ādityawarman. Suhadi, *Prasasti-Prasasti,* 6.

66. De Casparis, "Srivijaya and Malayu," 253. Stutterheim, in fact, believed Ādityawarman might have been responsible for the erection of the temple as a whole and that the sculptures found at Jago were of the Majapahit dynasty rather than the Singasari dynasty. See Stutterheim, "De Dateering," 274–297.

67. She is further discussed in chapter 3.

68. *Nāg.* canto 41:4.

69. See INE, "Pencurian Benda-benda Cagar Budaya Masih Terus Terjadi," *Kompas* (Jakarta), 7 April 2005.

70. One of the most famous of these emanations is the god Heruka, whose image has been found in northern Sumatra and is discussed in chapter 5.

71. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* 154–205.

72. Sastri writes, "The beautiful Śivabhairava image of Sungai Langsat is clearly a portrait of Adityavarman." Sastri, *Śrī Vijaya,* 100. "It is undoubtedly this king, whose fervor for Tantric Buddhism of the Kālachakra we have seen, who is represented in the form of Śiva Bhairava in the beautiful statue of Sungai Langsat." Coedès, *Indianized States,* 243.

73. J. G. de Casparis, "Dīpaṅkara in Sumatra (?)," in *Living a Life in Accord in Dhamma: Papers in Honor of Professor Jean Boisselier on his Eightieth Birthday,* ed. Natasha Eilenberg, M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, and Robert L. Brown (Bangkok: Silpakorn University, 1997), 129. This inscription is now known in Indonesia as Prasasti Pagarruyung I. De Casparis notes that this inscription is reminiscent of the Talang Tuo inscription of 684 CE. See Coedès and Damais, *Sriwijaya,* 48–52.

74. This inscription is known as Prasasti Rambatan, after the village where it was found. De Casparis, "Dīpaṅkara," 127–129.

75. See Satyawati Suleiman's comments on the Prasasti Pagarruyung II in Suleiman, *West Sumatra,* 5.

76. Kern "De Wij-inscriptie," 159–170.

77. Sastri, *Śrī Vijaya,* 108.

78. Kern, "De Wij-inscriptie," 170: *pratisthoyaḣ Sugaāthānāḣ, ācāryyan Dharmmasekaraḥ / nāmna Gagaṇagañjasya, Mañjuçrīr iva sauhṛdi // pratisthoyaḣ hitātvāya, sarvvasarrvāsukāçraya / Devair Amoghapāsesaḥ, çrīmad Ādityavarmmaṇaḥ //.*

79. If Bosch was correct about the Mañjuśrī inscription, this would be the second time that Ādityawarman had reinscribed a statue.

80. Suleiman has argued that Ādityawarman was set up as the ruler of a Majapahit vassal state. Suleiman, *Archaeology and History,* 9. Although it is possible that this was initially the case, Ādityawarman's inscriptions contradict this notion of dependency on

Java. Java is never mentioned, and Ādityawarman is referred to as Mahārājadirāja (king of kings).

81. Kubur Raja I; Kern, "Het Sanskrit-inschrift," 219. In this same inscription Ādityawarman is described as a *kalpataru* (wish-granting tree). Is it possible that the bhairava statue was seen in the same way as ancient Javanese Gaṇeśa images, as places to make curses, take oaths, and have wishes granted? Both the bhairava and the standing Gaṇeśas from Java, which are so iconographically similar, were erected in public spaces, on open-air platforms, where they could serve as a locus of popular worship.

82. Kern lists an example of errors in the first few lines. The inscription uses *bhuh, saka, jeṣṭhe, sukle, ṣaṣṭi, ādittya, kṣettra, surāvāçavān,* and *sahāçrāni* instead of *bhū, çaka, jyaiśṭhe, çukle, ṣaṣṭhi, āditya, kṣetra, surāvāsavān,* and *sahasrāṇi*. Kern, "Het zoogenaamde," 257–259.

83. Ibid.

84. This chronogram is unusual; most *candrasangkala* list the parts of the date in reverse order (e.g., 7, 9, 2, 1 = Śaka 1297). In this case the elements of the chronogram are listed 1, 2, 9, 7 and thus must be read without reversal.

85. Based on Kern, "Het zoogenaamde," 259, 261.

86. Moens, "Buddhisme op Jawa en Sumatra," 576.

87. Moens notes that Jyaiṣṭhadewī is a demonic form of Śakti, and finds significance in the fact the ceremony took place in the month dedicated to her worship. Ibid., 576–577.

88. Ibid., 579 (my translation).

89. Kern, "Het zogenaamde," 260.

90. Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Etymological and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1999), 332.

91. Moens, "Buddhisme op Jawa en Sumatra," 572–573.

92. Hendrik Kern, "Het opschrift van Batoe Beragong opnieuw onderzocht," *BKI,* ser. 4, pt. 1 (1877): 163.

93. Kern "Het zoogenaamde," 260n1.

94. Moens, "Buddhisme op Jawa en Sumatra," 579.

95. Since this was one of the last dated inscriptions left by Ādityawarman, some scholars have interpreted the ceremony described as relating to his impending death. Suleiman writes, "Thus Adityawarman was ordained as Bhairawa. This was a ritual he underwent as he was preparing for death, liberating himself from earthly bonds." Suleiman, *Archaeology and History,* 5.

96. See chapter 1 for more on these inscriptions.

97. J. G. de Casparis, "Beberapa Tokoh Besar Dalam Sejarah Asia Tenggara Dari Kira-Kira 1000–1400 M," *Amerta: Berkala Arkeologi* 16 (1995–1996): 38–46.

98. Ibid., 42 (my translation).

99. Drakard, *Kingdom of Words,* 19.

100. Ibid., 20, 23.

101. Ibid., 9–10.

102. O. W. Wolters, *The Fall of Srivijaya in Malay History* (Ithaca: Cornell University

Press, 1970), 58. In 1374 tribute was also sent from a royal court in Palembang. Some scholars have seen this as evidence of the fragmentation of the region into multiple kingdoms, but Wolters convincingly disputes this position. Ibid., 59–61.

103. The reference is found in Prasasti Pagarruyung II. See Suleiman, *Archaeology and History,* 5.

104. Drakard, *Kingdom of Words,* 20. Part of Drakard's study is a fascinating comparison of the language of Ādityawarman's inscriptions and Minangkabau royal language. Ibid., 243–245.

105. Ibid., 5n20.

106. The panels at Panataran that depict a dagger of this shape are panels 20, 78, and 90 of the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs. None of the daggers depicted have blades with quite the same width as the Sumatran example.

107. F. D. K. Bosch, "De Rijkssieraden van Pagar Roejoeng," *OV* (1930): Bijlage E, 214, pl. 49.

108. Although the knife held by the bhairava is similar to the Minangkabau dagger discussed by Bosch, it is a slightly different shape.

109. Another indication of this can be seen in the association of recently restored palace buildings (Balai Janggo in Tanahdatar) with the king, despite the fact the structures were built in the twentieth century.

110. Adele Rosi, ed., *Museum Nasional Guidebook* (Jakarta: PT Indo Multi Media, 1998), 83.

111. See John Miksic, "From Megaliths to Tombstones: The Transition from Prehistory to the Early Islamic Period in Highland West Sumatra," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32.93 (July 2004): 191–210.

112. John Miksic and Jay Goodfriend, "Exploring the Ancestral Homeland," in Oey, *Sumatra,* 164–165.

Conclusion

1. Joanna Lee, "From National Identity to the Self: Themes in Modern Indonesian Art," in *Modernity and Beyond: Themes in Southeast Asian Art,* ed. T. K. Subapathy (Singapore: National Heritage Board, 1996), 24.

2. See the comments by the critic Kusnadi in "Seni Rupa Baru Menurut Kusnadi," in *Gerakan Seni Rupa Baru,* ed. Jim Supangkat (Jakarta: Penerbit PT Gramedia, 1979), 22. See other responses to Supangkat's *Ken Dedes* in Supangkat, *Gerakan Seni Rupa,* 23–39.

3. Brita Miklouho-Maklai, *Exposing Society's Wounds: Some Aspects of Contemporary Indonesian Art since 1966* (Adelaide: Flinders University Asian Studies, 1991), 99.

4. Today head-hunting is most often associated with Kalimantan and Papua. In Pigeaud's commentary on the *Nawanatya,* a Majapahit-era manual of court conduct, he makes the following statement regarding head-hunting in Java.

> It is a surprise to find mentioned in a Majapahit text the custom of carrying off enemies' heads (p. 23a). In KBNW sub *adu* v. d. Tuuk translates *adu-aduan:* "people sent out (on an expedition) to hunt heads in the enemies' districts", and *kadu:* "being sent

out to carry off a head, for instance: by way of punishment for an offence a man belonging to a high caste is sent out with understanding that, if he does not bring home a head, he loses his caste. For a minor misdemeanor an ear or another limb suffices. Women also can be carried off and brought in." No doubt this remarkable note of v. d. Tuuk's refers to 19th century Bali, but the resemblance with the policy advocated in the *Rājyawāsanā* is unmistakable. Certainly headhunting is not a practice to be expected from the highly cultured Majapahit Royal Court as it is described by Kern and Krom. But then those eminent scholars' ideas of Old Javanese society and civilization sorely need to be put to the test. In the present author's opinion Van der Tuuk who lived a lifetime among the peoples of the Archipelago is an excellent authority of matters of Balinese and Javanese cultural history.

Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century,* 4:358–359.

5. Richard Lloyd Parry, "What Young Men Do," *Granta* 62 (Summer 1998): 83–124.

6. "Fight to the Death for Tribal Rights," *Asia Times,* 20 February 1997.

7. Peter Dale Scott, "Murder in Java: Psychological Warfare and the New York Times," *Extra!* (the newsletter of FAIR [Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting]) 12.1 (January–February 1999): 21–22.

8. Ibid.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, T. "Oudheden te Djambi." *OV* (1921): 194–197.

Adrisijanti, Inajati, et al., eds. *Cinandi: Persembahan Alumni Jurusan Arkeologi Universitas Gajah Mada Kepada Prof. Dr. H. R. Soekmono.* Yogyakarta: Universitas Gajah Mada, 1997.

Aeusrivongse, Nidhi. "The Devaraja Cult and Khmer Kingship at Angkor." In *Explorations in Early Southeast Asian History,* ed. Kenneth R. Hall and John Whitmore, 107–149. Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1976.

Andaya, Leonard Y. "The Trans-Sumatra Trade and the Ethnicization of the 'Batak.'" *BKI* 158.3 (2002): 367–409.

Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture." In *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia,* 17–77. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Anderson, J. *Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra in 1823.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Aung-Thwin, Michael. "Kingship, the Sangha, and Society in Pagan." In *Explorations in Early Southeast Asian History: The Origins of Southeast Asian Statecraft,* ed. Kenneth R. Hall and John T. Whitmore, 205–256. Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia, 11. Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1976.

Bambang Budi Utomo. "Kompleks Percandian Padang Lawas: Sebuah Kompleks Pusat Upacara Agama Buddha Wajrayana." *Jurnal Arkeologi Malaysia* 9 (1996): 60–93.

———. "Penelitian Arkeologi Tapak Percandian Tanah Abang 1991–1992." *Jurnal Arkeologi Malaysia* 6 (1993): 10–40.

———. "Permasalahan Umum Muara Jambi." In *Rapat Evaluasi Hasil Penelitian Arkeologi III,* ed. Niles A. Subagus, 157–171. Jakarta: Departmen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1988.

Barbier, Jean Paul, and Douglas Newton, eds. *Islands and Ancestors: Indigenous Styles of Southeast Asia.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988.

de Bary, Wm. Theodore, ed. *The Buddhist Tradition.* New York: Modern Library, 1969.

Becker, Judith O. *Gamelan Stories: Tantrism, Islam, and Aesthetics in Central Java.* Tempe: Program for Southeast Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1993.

van Bemmelen, H. A. *Dvarapalas in Indonesia: Temple Guardians and Acculturation.* Rotterdam: Brookfield, 1994.

Benda, Harry Jindrich, and John A. Larkin. *The World of Southeast Asia: Selected Historical Readings.* New York: Harper and Row, 1967.
Berger, Patricia. "After Xanadu: The Mongol Renaissance of the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries." In *Mongolia: The Legacy of Chinggis Khan,* ed. Patricia Berger and Terese Tse Bartholomew, 50–75. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995.
———. "Buddhist Festivals in Mongolia." In *Mongolia: The Legacy of Chinggis Khan,* ed. Patricia Berger and Terese Tse Bartholomew, 149–184. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995.
Bernet Kempers, A. J. *Ancient Indonesian Art.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.
———. "De Beelden van Tjandi Djago en hun voor-Indisch Prototype." *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 10.6 (1933): 173–179.
———. *The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese Art.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1933.
———. "The Kuñjarakarṇa Reliefs in Candi Jago." In *Kuñjarakarṇa Dharmakathana: Liberation through the Law of the Buddha; An Old Javanese Poem by Mpu Ḍusun,* ed. A. Teeuw and S. O. Robson, 203–216. KITLV Bibliotheca Indonesica, 21. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981.
———. *Monumental Bali.* Berkeley: Periplus Editions, 1991.
Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh. "Iconography of Heruka." *Indian Culture* 2 (July 1935): 23–35.
———. *The Indian Buddhist Iconography.* Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1968.
———, ed. *Sādhanamālā.* 2 vols. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1968.
Bhattasali, Nalinikanta. *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum.* Dacca: Rai S. N. Bhadra Bahadur, 1929.
Blom, Jessy. *The Antiquities of Singasari.* Leiden: Burgersdijk and Niermans — Templum Salomonis, 1939.
Bode, David. *Khubilai Khan and the Beautiful Princess of Tumapel.* Ulaanbaatar: A. Chuluunbat, 2002.
Boechari. "The Inscription of Mūla-Malurung: A New Evidence on the Historicity of Ken Anggrok." *Majalah Arkeologi* 3.1–2 (1980): 55–70.
———. "New Investigations on the Kedukan Bukit Inscription." In *Untuk Bapak Guru, Prof. Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers: Persembahan para Murid Untuk Memperingati Usia Genap 80 Tahun,* 33–56. Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian Purbakala Jakarta, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1986.
———. "An Old Malay Inscription of Śrīwijaya at Palas Pasemah." In *Pra Seminar Penelitian Sriwijaya,* 19–42. Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian dan Penggalian Purbakala, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1979.
———. "Ritual Deposits of Candi Gumpung (Muara Jambi)." In SPAFA, *Final Report: Consultative Workshop on Archaeological and Environmental Studies of Srivijaya,* appendix 7d, 229–243. Bangkok: SPAFA, 1985.
———. "Sri Maharaja Garasakan, a New Evidence on the Problem of Airlangga's Partition of his Kingdom." *Madjalah ilmu-ilmu Sastra Indonesia* 4 (1968): 1–26.
Bosch, F. D. K. "De Bijzetting van koning Kretanagara te Sagala." *OV* (1917): 135–142.
———. "Het lingga-heilingdom van Dinaja." *TBG* 64 (1924): 227–273.
———. "De Inscriptie op het Manjusri beeld van 1265 Saka." *BKI* 77 (1921): 194–201.

———. “De Inscriptie van Keloerak.” *TBG* 68 (1928): 2–64.
———. “Naschrift.” *TBG* 58 (1919): 490–492.
———. “Nog eens: De Bijzetting van koning Kretanagara te Sagala.” *OV* (1918): 21–32.
———. “On Some Groups of Yakṣa Figures in Indonesian and Khmer Art.” *Artibus Asiae* 22.3 (1959): 227–239.
———. “De Rijkssieraden van Pagar Roejoeng.” *OV* (1930): 201–215.
———. “Uit de grensgebieden tussen Indische invloedsfeer en oud-inheems volksgeloof op Java.” *BKI* 110 (1954): 1–19.
———. “Verslag van een reis door Sumatra.” *OV* (1930): 133–157.
Brand, Michael, and Chuch Phoeurn, eds. *The Age of Angkor: Treasures from the National Museum of Cambodia.* Canberra: Australian National Gallery, 1992.
Brandes, J. L. A. *Beschrijving van de ruïne bij de desa Toempang, genaamd Tjandi Djago: In de residentie Pasoeroean.* ’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1904.
———. *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari en de wolkentooneelen van Panataran.* ’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1909.
———. “Nāgarakeṛtāgama.” *VBG* 54.1 (1902).
———. *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden. VBG* 60 (1913).
———. *Pararaton (Ken Arok), Het Boek der Koningen van Tumapel en van Majapahit.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1920.
Brown, Robert L. “The Miraculous Buddha Image: Portrait, God, or Object.” In *Images, Miracles, and Authority in Asian Reigious Traditions,* ed. Richard H. Davis, 37–54. Boulder: Westview Press, 1998.
de Casparis, J. G. “Beberapa Tokoh Besar Dalam Sejarah Asia Tenggara Dari Kira-Kira 1000–1400 M.” *Amerta: Berkala Arkeologi* 16 (1995–1996): 34–46.
———. “Dīpaṅkara in Sumatra (?).” In *Living a Life in Accord in Dhamma: Papers in Honor of Professor Jean Boisselier on his Eightieth Birthday,* ed. Natasha Eilenberg, M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, and Robert L. Brown, 127–129. Bangkok: Silpakorn University, 1997.
———. “Hindu Revival in Fifteenth Century Java.” In *India and Beyond.* ed. Dick van der Meij, 50–54. Leiden: IIAS, 1997.
———. “Indonesian Paleography: A History of Writing in Indonesia from the Beginnings to c. A.D. 1500.” *Handbuch der Orientalistik.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975.
———. *Inscripties uit de Cailendra-tijd.* Prasasti Indonesia, 1. Bandung: A. C. Nix, 1950.
———. “Malayu dan Adityawarman.” In *Seminar Sejarah Malayu Kuno, Jambi, 7–8 Desember 1992,* 235–256. Jambi: Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat I Jambi Bekerjasama Dengan Kantor Wilayah Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jambi, 1992.
———. “Nogmaals de Sanskrit-inscriptie op den steen van Dinojo.” *TBG* 81 (1941): 499–513.
———. *Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Century A.D.* Prasasti Indonesia, 2. Bandung: Masa Baru, 1956.
———. “Srivijaya and Malayu.” In SPAFA, *Final Report: Consultative Workshop on Archaeological and Environmental Studies of Srivijaya,* 245–255. Bangkok: SPFA, 1985.
———, and I. W. Mabbett. “Religion and Popular Beliefs in Southeast Asia before c.

1500." In *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia,* ed. Nicholas Tarling, 1:322–330. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
Chandra, Lokesh. "The Jaka Dolog Inscription of King Kṛtanagara." In *Cultural Horizons of India,* 4:148–166. 7 vols. New Delhi: International Academy of India Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1995.
Chatterjee, B. R. *History of Indonesia.* Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1967.
———. *India and Java.* Calcutta: Greater India Society, 1933.
Christie, Jan Wisseman. "The Medieval Tamil-language Inscriptions in Southeast Asia and China." *JSEAS* 29.2 (September 1998): 239–268.
———. "Negara, Mandala, and Despotic State: Images of Early Java." In *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries,* ed. D. G. Marr and A. C. Milner, 65–93. Singapore: ISEAS and ANU, 1986.
———. "Rāja and Rāma: The Classical State in Early Java." In *Centers, Symbols, and Hierarchies: Essays on the Classical States of Southeast Asia,* ed. Lorraine Gesick, 9–44. Yale University Southeast Asia Studies Monograph, 26. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1983.
———. "Texts and Textiles in 'Medieval' Java." *BEFEO* 80.7 (1993): 181–211.
———. "Weaving and Dyeing in Early Java and Bali." In *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1998: Proceedings of the 7th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asia Archaeologists, Berlin, 31 August–4 September 1998,* ed. Wibke Lobo and Stefanie Reimann, 17–27. Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull; Berlin: Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 2000.
Clifford, James. *The Predicament of Culture.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.
Coedès, George. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia.* Honolulu: East-West Press, 1968.
———. "The Kingdom of Sriwijaya." In *Sriwijaya: History, Religion, and Language of an Early Malay Polity,* ed. George Coedès and Louis-Charles Damais, 1–40. Monograph of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 20. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1992. Orig. published as "Le royaume de Çrivijaya." *BEFEO* 18.6 (1918): 1–36.
———. "The Malay Inscriptions of Sriwijaya." In *Sriwijaya: History, Religion, and Language of an Early Malay Polity,* ed. George Coedès and Louis-Charles Damais, 41–92. Monograph of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 20. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1992. Orig. published as "Les inscriptions malaises de Çrivijaya." *BEFEO* 30 (1930): 29–80.
———. "Le portrait dans l'art Khmer." *Arts Asiatiques* 7 (1960): 179–198.
———, and Louis-Charles Damais, eds. *Sriwijaya: History, Religion, and Language of an Early Malay Polity.* Monograph of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 20. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1992.
Conze, Edward. *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development.* New York: Harper, 1959.
———. *Buddhist Scriptures.* New York: Penguin, 1959.
Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art.* New York: Dover Publications, 1985.

Crucq, K. C. "Een Portretbeeld der Rajapatni in het Bataviaasch Museum?" *OV* (1930): 219–221.
Damais, Louis-Charles. "Etudes javanaises II, le nom de la déité tantrique de 1214 Saka." *BEFEO* 50 (1962): 407–416.
———. "Language B of the Sriwijaya Inscriptions." In *Sriwijaya: History, Religion, and Language of an Early Malay Polity,* ed. George Coedès and Louis-Charles Damais, 113–165. Monograph of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 20. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1992.
Davis, Richard H. *Lives of Indian Images.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
Daweewarn, Dawee. *Brahmanism in South-East Asia.* New Delhi: Sterling, 1982.
Decker, Hubert. "Atisa's Journey to Sumatra." In *Buddhism in Practice,* ed. Donald Lopez, 532–540. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
Dehejia, Vidya. *Devi: The Great Goddess.* Washington: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1999.
———. "The Very Idea of a Portrait." *Ars Orientalis* 28 (1998): 41–48.
Diskul, M. C. Subhadradis, ed. *The Art of Srivijaya.* Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press; Paris: UNESCO, 1980.
Djafar, Hasan. "Prasasti-Prasasti Masa Kerajaan Malayu Kuna dan Beberapa Permasalahannya." In *Seminar Sejarah Malayu Kuno Jambi, 7–8 Desember 1992,* 51–80. Jambi: Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat I Jambi Bekerjasama Dengan Kantor Wilayah Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jambi, 1992.
Dobbin, Christine. *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy: Central Sumatra, 1784–1847.* Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, 47. London: Curzon Press, 1983.
Drakard, Jane. *A Kingdom of Words: Language and Power in Sumatra.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
———. *A Malay Frontier: Unity and Duality in a Sumatran Kingdom.* Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1990.
Dumarçay, Jacques. *The Temples of Java.* Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986.
Ḍusun, Mpu. *Kuñjarakarṇa Dharmakathana: Liberation through the Law of the Buddha: An Old Javanese Poem by Mpu Ḍusun.* Ed. and trans. A. Teeuw and S. O. Robson. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981.
Dutt, Sukumar. *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India.* London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962.
Dwiyanto, Djoko. "Hasil Sementara Ekskavasi Selomerto: Suatu Tinjuan Arsitektur dan Ikonografi." *Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi III (P.I.A. III) Ciloto, 23–28 Mei 1983* (1985): 438–451.
Eimer, H. "Life and Activities of Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna: A Survey of Investigations Undertaken." *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (Calcutta), 27.4 (1985): 3–12.
Ensink, Jacob. "Śiva-Buddhism in Java and Bali." *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* 108 (1978): 178–198.
van Erp, Th. "Archaeological Finds in Padang Lawas (Tapanuli Residentship) Sumatra." *Annual Bibliography of Indian Art XIV 1939* (1941): 13–20.
Fa-Hsien. *A Record of Buddhist kingdoms; being an account by the Chinese monk of his*

travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399–414) in search of the Buddhist books of discipline. Trans. J. Legge. New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1965.
———. *Travels of Fa-hsien and Sung-Yun.* Trans. S. Beal. London: Susil Gupta, 1964.
Ferdinandus, Sri Utami. "Votive Tablets of Blandongan, Batujaya, Residence of Karawang, West Java." In *Sanskrit in Southeast Asia: The Harmonizing Factor of Cultures,* 387–394. Bangkok: Sanskrit Studies Centre, 2003.
Fisher, Robert E. *Buddhist Art and Architecture.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1993.
Fontein, Jan. "Piecing Together the Fragments of the Past." *Aziatische Kunst* 4 (December 1996): 2–23.
———. *The Sculpture of Indonesia.* Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1990.
Frederic, Louis, and Jean-Louis Nou. *Borobudur.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1996.
Geertz, Clifford. "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power." In *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology,* 121–146. New York: Basic Books, 1983.
———. *The Interpretation of Cultures.* New York: Basic Books, 1973.
———. *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.
Getty, Alice. *Gaṇeśa: A Monograph on the Elephant-faced God.* New Delhi: Munhiram Manoharlal, 1936.
———. *The Gods of Northern Buddhism.* New York: Dover Publications, 1988.
Ghosh, Mallar. *Development of Buddhist Iconography in Eastern India: A Study of Tārā, Prajñās of Five Tathāgatas and Bhṛkutī.* Delhi: Munshiram Manoharilal, 1980.
Giraud-Geslan, Maud, et al., eds. *Art of Southeast Asia.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998.
Gonda, Jan. "The Indian Religions in Pre-Islamic Indonesia and Their Survival in Bali." *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden; Koln), vol. 2, sect. 1 (1975): 1–54.
———. "Siva in Indonesien." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 14 (1970): 1–31.
Granoff, Phyllis. "Maheśvara/Mahākāla: A Unique Buddhist Image from Kaśmīr." *Artibus Asiae* 41.1 (1979): 64–82.
Groeneveldt, W. P. *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, compiled from Chinese sources.* Batavia, 1876.
Grünwedel, Albert. *Mythologie du Buddhisme au Tibet et en Mongolie.* Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1900.
Hall, Kenneth. "Economic History of Early Southeast Asia." In *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia,* ed. Nicholas Tarling, 1:183–275. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
———. "Ritual Networks and Royal Power in Majapahit Java." *Archipel* 52 (1996): 95–118.
Hanumanta, D. "A Unique Sculpture of Ganapati from Sankaram." In *Sri Ramachandrika (Professor Oruganti Ramachandraiya Festschrift): Essays on Indian Archaeology, History, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Art, and Religion,* ed. A. V. N. Murthy and I. K. Sarma. Delhi: Book India Publishing, 1993.
Harahap, Anwar, et al. *Asal-Usul Marga Marga Tapanuli Selatan.* Medan: YMG Punguan Manula Marga-Marga Tapanuli Selatan, 1994.

Hasibuan, Jamaluddin S. *Batak Art and Culture.* Medan: J. Hasibuan, 1986.
Heesterman, J. C. "Ritual and Ritualism: The Case of Ancient Indian Ancestor Worship." In *India and Beyond,* ed. Dick van der Meij, 249–270. Leiden: IIAS, 1997.
Hefner, Robert F. *Hindu Javanese: Tengger Tradition and Islam.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.
Heine-Geldern, Robert. *Alt Javanische Bronzen aus dem Besitze der ethnographischen Sammlung des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wien.* Vienna: Stern, 1925.
———. "The Archaeology and Art of Sumatra." In *Sumatra: Its History and Its People,* ed. Edwin M. Loeb, 305–331. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.
———. "Conceptions of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia." *Far Eastern Quarterly* 2 (1943): 15–30.
Helmi, Surya, Marsis Sutopo, Teguh Hidayat, and Budi Istiawan. "Kepurbakalaan DAS Batanghari, Sumatera Barat: Suatu Paparan Singkat." In *Cinandi: Persembahan Alumni Jurusan Arkeologi Universitas Gajah Mada Kepada Prof. Dr. H. R. Soekmono,* ed. Inajati Adrisijanti et al., 51–60. Yogyakarta: Universitas Gajah Mada, 1997.
Hoskins, Janet. *Headhunting and the Social Imagination in Southeast Asia.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
Huntington, John C. "The Iconography of Borobudur Revisited: The Concepts of Śleṣa and Sarva[buddha]kāya." In *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture,* ed. Marijke J. Klokke and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994.
Huntington, Susan L. *Art of Ancient India.* New York, Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1985.
———. *The "Pāla-Sena" Schools of Sculpture.* Studies in South Asian Culture, vol. 10. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984.
———. "Some Connections between Metal Images of Northeast India and Java." In *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture,* ed. Marijke J. Klokke and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, 57–75. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994.
———, and John C. Huntington. *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree: The Art of Pāla India (8th–12th Centuries) and Its International Legacy.* Seattle: Dayton Art Institute in Association with the University of Washington Press, 1990.
I-ching. *Voyages des pèlerins bouddhistes: Les religieux éminents qui allerent chercher la loi dans les pays de l'Occident, mémoire composé à l'époque de la grand dynastie T'ang par I-tsing.* Trans. Edouard Chavannes. Paris, 1894.
Jessup, Helen Ibbitson, and Thierry Zephir, eds. *Sculpture of Angkor and Ancient Cambodia: Millennium of Glory.* New York; London: Thames and Hudson, 1997.
Junghuhn, Franz. *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra.* Berlin: G. Reimer, 1947.
Kartoatmodjo, M. M. Sukarto. *Boom Baru Inscription and Its Relationship with Sriwijaya Kingdom.* Palembang: State Museum of South Sumatra Province Balaputra Dewa, 1994–1995.
Kathirithamby-Wells, J., and John Villiers, eds. *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity.* Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1990.
Kats, J. *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan.* 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1910.
van Kerchoff, Ch. E. P. "Aanteekeningen betreffende eenige der in de afdeeling Padang-Lawas voorkomende Hindoe-Oudheden." *TBG* 32 (1887): 487–497.
Kern, Hendrik. "Het opschrift van Batoe Beragong opnieuw onderzocht." *BKI* 4.1 (1877): 159–169.

———. “Het Sanskrit-inschrift op den grafsteen van Vorst Ādityawarman te Kubur Raja (Menangkabau; ± 1300 Çaka).” *VG* 7 (1917): 217–221.
———. “Het zoogenaamde rotinschrift van ‘Batu Beragung’ in Menangkabau (1269 en 1297 Çāka).” *VG* 6 (1917): 251–263.
———. “Nog iets over het opschrift van Pagarruyung.” *VG* 6 (1917): 266–275.
———. “Over de vermenging van Ciwaisme en Buddhisme op Java, naar aanleiding van het Oud-Javaansch gedicht Sutasoma.” *VG* 4 (1916): 149–177.
———. “De Sanskrit-inscriptie van ’t Mahākṣobhyabeeld te Simpang.” *TBG* 54 (1910): 99–108.
———. *Verspreide Geschriften, onder zijn toezicht versameld.* Vols. 4–8. ’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1916–1918.
———. “De Wij-inscriptie op het Amoghapasa beeld van Padang Tjandi.” *TBG* 49 (1907): 159–170.
Khan-Majlis, Brigitte. “Reinventing Majapahit Terracotta Art: Fakes and the Faking Industry.” 2003. Available from http://www.arkeologi.net/index1.php?id=view_news&ct_news=105.
Kinney, Ann R., with Marijke Klokke and Lydia Kieven. *Worshiping Siva and Buddha: The Temple Art of East Java.* Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2003.
Kinsley, David. *Hindu Goddesses.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
Klokke, Marijke J. “Borobudur, a Mandala? A Contextual Approach to the Function and Meaning of Borobudur.” In *IIAS Yearbook 1995,* 191–219. Leiden: IIAS, 1996.
———. “Deified Couples and Meditation: On the Iconography of the So-called Portrait Statues in Ancient Javanese Art.” In *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1994 II,* ed. Pierre-Yves Manguin, 171–179. Hull: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hull, 1999.
———. “The Iconography of the So-called Portrait Statues in Late East Javanese Art.” In *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture,* ed. Marijke J. Klokke and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, 178–201. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994.
———. “Indonesian Art.” *Art of Southeast Asia,* ed. Maud Giraud-Geslan et al., 335–417. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998.
———. “On the Orientation of Ancient Javanese Temples: The Example of Candi Surowono.” In *IIAS Yearbook 1994,* 73–86. Leiden: IIAS, 1995.
———. “The Sailendras: Javanese or Non-Javanese?” Paper presented at the international symposium, “Non-Javanese, Not Yet Javanese, and Un-Javanese,” Leiden, 23–25 March 2004.
———. *Tantri Reliefs on Javanese Candi.* Leiden: KITLV Press, 1993.
———, and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, eds. *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture.* Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994.
Kooij, K. R. van. “Some Iconographical Data from the Kālikāpurāṇa with Special Reference to Heruka and Ekajaṭā.” In *South Asian Archaeology 1973,* ed. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and J. M. M. Ubaghs, 161–170. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974.
Krairiksh, Piriya. *Art in Peninsular Thailand Prior to the Fourteenth Century A.D.* Bangkok: The Fine Arts Department, 1980.
Kramrisch, Stella. *The Hindu Temple* 2 vols. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976.

Krijger, Hugo E. “Kathmandu Valley Painting: The Jucker Collection.” *Arts of Asia* 29.5 (1999): 100–110.
Krishna Murthy, K. *Iconography of Buddhist Deity Heruka.* Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, 1988.
———. *Sculptures of Vajrayana Buddhism.* Delhi: Classics India Publications, 1989.
Krom, N. J. “Aanvulling van de Beschrijving der Amoghapaca-bronzen.” *OV* (1913): 45–51.
———. *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis.* ’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931.
———. *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst.* 3 vols. ’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923.
———. “Een Sumatraansche Inscriptie van Koning Kṛtanagara.” *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen* 5.2 (1917): 306–339.
———. *De Sumatraansche Periode der Javaansche Geschiedenis.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1919.
Kulke, H. *The Devaraja Cult.* Ithaca: Cornell Department of Asian Studies, 1978.
Kwa Chong Guan. “Sraddha Sri Rajapatni: An Exploration of Majapahit Mortuary Ritual.” In *The Legacy of Majapahit,* ed. John Miksic and Endang Sri Hardiati Soekatno, 73–88. Singapore: National Heritage Board, 1995.
Lee, Joanna. “From National Identity to the Self: Themes in Modern Indonesian Art.” In *Modernity and Beyond: Themes in Southeast Asian Art,* ed. T. K. Subapathy, 17–31. Singapore: National Heritage Board, 1996.
Leoshko, Janice. “The Appearance of Amoghapāśa in Pāla Period Art.” In *Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia,* ed. A. K. Narain, 127–134. New Delhi: Kanak Publications, 1985.
Linrothe, Rob. *Ruthless Compassion: Wrathful Deities in Early Indo-Tibetan Esoteric Buddhist Art.* Boston: Shambala, 1999.
Lobo, Wibke. “The Figure of Hevajra and Tantric Buddhism.” In *Sculpture of Angkor and Ancient Cambodia: Millennium of Glory,* ed. Helen Jessup and Thierry Zephir, 71–78. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1997.
———, and Stefanie Reimann. *Southeast Asian Archaeology, 1998: Proceedings of the 7th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Berlin, 31 August–4 September 1998.* Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull; Berlin: Ethnologisches Museum, Stralliche Museen zu Berlin Stiftung. Preuischer Kulturbesitz, 2000.
van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E. “The Dhyani-Buddhas of Baradudur.” *BKI* 121 (1965): 389–416.
———. “The Stūpa in Indonesia.” In *The Stūpa: Its Religious, Historical, and Architectural Significance,* ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola and Stephanie Zingel-Ave Lallemant, 277–300. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1980.
Lopez, Donald, ed. *Buddhism in Practice.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
Lorenzen, David. *Kapalikas and Kalamukhas.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
Lunsingh Scheurleer, Pauline. “Bronze Images and Their Place in Ancient Indonesian Culture.” In *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture,* ed. Marijke J. Klokke and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, 76–91. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994.

———. “Ganesha van de Berg Semeru: Een staande Ganesha aan de Wandel.” *Aziatische Kunst* 30.4 (December 2000): 9–19.
———. “Ganesha van Singosari op bezoek.” *Aziatische Kunst* 28.2 (June 1998): 2–17.
———. “Singosari-Beelden in de Nieuwe Kerk.” *Aziatische Kunst* 35. 4 (December 2005): 43–72.
———. “Skulls, Fangs, and Serpents: A New Development in East Javanese Iconography.” In *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1998: Proceedings of the 7th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Berlin, 31 August–4 September 1998,* ed. Wibke Lobo and Stefanie Reimann, 189–204. Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull; Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Stiftung Preuischer Kulturbesitz, 2000.
———. “The Tridaṇḍa of the Main Image of Candi Jago.” *Southeast Asian Archaeology Newsletter* 2 (1989): 14–19.
———, and Marijke J. Klokke, eds. *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes: Catalogue of the Exhibition in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam with a General Introduction.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988.
Mabbett, I. W. “Devaraja.” *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 10 (1969): 202–223.
Majumdar, R. C. *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East II: Suvarṇadvīpa.* 2 vols. Lahore: Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1937.
de Mallmann, Marie Therese. “Divinités hindoues dans le tantrisme bouddhique.” *Arts Asiatiques* X (1964): 67–86.
———. *Introduction à l’iconographie du tantrisme bouddhique.* Paris: en vente, Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1975.
Manguin, Pierre-Yves. “The Early Maritime Polities.” In *Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History,* ed. Ian Glover and Peter Bellwood, 301–303. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.
———. “Palembang and Sriwijaya: An Early Malay Harbour-City Rediscovered.” *Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 66.1 (1993): 23–46.
Marsden, William. *The History of Sumatra.* 1811. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford in Asia Historical Reprints, 1966.
McKinnon, E. Edwards. “Early Polities in Southern Sumatra: Some Preliminary Observations Based on Archaeological Evidence.” *Indonesia* 40 (1985): 1–36.
———. “Introducing North Sumatra.” In *Sumatra: Island of Adventure,* ed. Eric Oey, 81–82. Lincolnwood: Passport Books, 1996.
———. “Malayu Jambi: Interlocal and International Trade (11th to 13th Centuries).” In *Seminar Sejarah Malayu Kuno, Jambi, 7–8 Desember 1992,* 128–141. Jambi: Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat I Jambi Bekerjasama Dengan Kantor Wilayah Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jambi, 1992.
———. “Tapanuli: The Rugged Southern Bataklands.” In *Sumatra: Island of Adventure,* ed. Eric Oey, 114–115. Lincolnwood: Passport Books, 1996.
Meisezahl, R. O. “Amoghapāśa: Some Nepalese Representations and Their Vajrayānic Aspects.” *Monumenta Serica* 26 (1967): 455–497.
———. “The Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 17 (1962): 265–328.
Miklouho-Maklai, Brita. *Exposing Society’s Wounds: Some Aspects of Contemporary Indonesian Art since 1966.* Adelaide: Flinders University Asian Studies, 1991.

Miksic, John, ed. *Art of Indonesia.* New York: Vendome Press, 1992.
———. *Borobudur: Golden Tales of the Buddha.* Hong Kong: Periplus Editions, 1994.
———. "Classical Archaeology in Sumatra." *Indonesia* 30 (October 1980): 43–66.
———. "From Megaliths to Tombstones: The Transition from Prehistory to the Early Islamic Period in Highland West Sumatra." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32.93 (July 2004): 191–210.
———, and Endang Sri Hardiati Soekatno, eds. *The Legacy of Majapahit.* Singapore: National Heritage Board, 1995.
———, and Jay Goodfriend. "Exploring the Ancestral Homeland." In *Sumatra: Island of Adventure,* ed. Eric Oey, 164–165. Lincolnwood: Passport Books, 1996.
Mitra, Debala. "Notes on Heruka/Hevajra and a Few Images of This Vajrayana Deity." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology: Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura* (1997–1998): 377–393.
———. *Ratnagiri, 1958–1961.* New Delhi: Archaeological Service of India, 1981–1983.
———. "Some Images of Heruka/Hevajra." In *Nalinīkānta-Śatavārṣkī: Dr. N. K. Bhattasali Centenary Volume (1888–1988): Studies in the Art and Archaeology of Bihar and Bengal,* ed. Debala Mitra and Gouriswar Bhattacharya, 179–188. Sri Garib Dass Oriental Series, 83. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1989.
Mitra, Mallar. "A Sculpture with Heruka and Nairātmā in the Newark Museum." *Berliner Indologische Studien* 11–12 (1998): 365–370.
Moens, J. L. "Het Buddhisme op Java en Sumatra in zijn laatste bloeiperdiode." *TBG* 64 (1924): 521–579.
———. "Hindu-Javaansche Portretbeelden." *TBG* 58 (1919): 493–526.
Mulia, Rumbi. *The Ancient Kingdom of Panai and the Ruins of Padang Lawas (North Sumatera).* Bulletin of the Research Centre of Archaeology of Indonesia, no. 14. Jakarta: Proyek Pengembangan Media Kebudayaan, Departemen P & K, 1980.
Nagaraju, S. "A Central Sumatran Metropolis at Muara Jambi and Its Buddhist Connection: Some Reflections." In *Śrī Nāgābhinandanam Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao Festschrift,* 2:721–760. Bangalore: Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao Felicitation Committee, 1995.
Nazir, M. *Mengenal: Candi-candi Muara Jambi.* Jambi: Proyek Rehabilitas dan Perluasan Museum Jambi, Kantor Wilayah Departement P dan K Prop. Jambi, 1979.
Newman, John Ronald. "The Outer Wheel of the Time: Vajrayāna Buddhist Cosmology in the Kālacakra Tantra." Ph.D. diss. University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1987.
Nihom, Max. "The Identification and Original Site of a Cult Statue on East Java: The Jaka Dolog." *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* no. 3 (1986): 485–501.
———. *Studies in Indian and Indo-Indonesian Tantrism: The Kuñjarakarṇadharmakathana and the Yogatantra.* Vienna: Sammlung De Nobili, 1994.
O'Brien, Kathleen Patricia. "Candi Jago as a Mandala: Symbolism of Its Narratives." *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 22.2 (1988): 1–61.
———. "Means and Wisdom in Tantric Buddhist Rulers of the East Javanese Period." Ph.D. diss. University of Sydney, School of Asian Studies, 1993.
O'Connor, S. J. "Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam." *Artibus Asiae,* Supplementum 28 (1972).
———. "Ritual Deposit Boxes in Southeast Asian Sanctuaries." *Artibus Asiae* 28 (1975):53–61.

Oey, Eric M., ed. *Sumatra: Island of Adventure.* Lincolnwood: Passport Books, 1996.
Pachow, W. "The Voyage of Buddhist Missions to Southeast Asia and the Far East." *Journal of the Greater India Society* 17.1–2 (1958): 9–12.
Pal, Pratyapaditya. "Heruka/Hevajra in Khmer Art: A Preliminary Study." *Oriental Art* 40.4 (1994/95): 13–20.
Pander, Eugen. "Das Pantheon des Tschangstcha Hutuktu." *Veroffentlichungen aus dem koniglichen Museum fur Volkerkunde* 2–3 (1890).
Parkin, Harry. *Batak Fruit of Hindu Thought.* Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1978.
Parry, Richard Lloyd. "What Young Men Do." *Granta* 62 (Summer 1998): 83–124.
Paul, Debjani. *The Art of Nālandā.* New Delhi: Munshiram Monoharlal, 1995.
Paul, Diana Y. *Women in Buddhism: Images of the Feminine in the Mahayana Tradition.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.
Pigeaud, Th. P. *Java in the 14th Century: A Study in Cultural History: The Nāgara-Kertāgama by Rakawi Prapanca of Majapahit, 1365 A.D.* 5 vols. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960–1963.
———. *De Tantu Panggelaran.* 's-Gravenhage: Nederland Boek en Steendrukkerij, 1924.
Pleyte, C. M. "Over een paar Hindoebeelden van Padang-tjandi (Batang Hari-districten.)" *TBG* 49 (1907): 171–177.
Poerbatjaraka, R. Ng. "Het Beeld van Tjandi Djawi." *OV* (1917): 143–151.
———. "De Inscriptie van het Mahākṣobhyabeeld te Simpang (Soerabaya)." *BKI* 78 (1922): 426–461.
Polo, Marco. *Travels of Marco Polo,* trans. Ronald Latham. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958.
Pott, P. H. "Four Demonic Gaṇeśas from East Java." *Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde* 15 (1962): 123–131.
———. "The Influence of Tantric Buddhism on Ancient Indonesian Civilization." *Marg* 9 (1956): 53–64.
———. *Yoga and Yantra.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1966.
Prapañca, Mpu. *Deśawarṇana (Nāgarakṛtāgama).* Trans. Stuart Robson. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995.
Raffles, Thomas Stanford. *The History of Java.* 1817. 2 vols. Reprint, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1978.
Rassers, W. H. "On the Batak Magic Staff." In *W. H. Rassers and the Batak Magic Staff,* ed. Michael Prager and Pieter ter Keurs, 53–138. Leiden: Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 1998.
———. *Panji, the Culture Hero.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959.
———. "Śiva and Buddha in the East Indian Archipelago." 1926. In *Panji, the Culture Hero,* 65–91. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959.
Rawson, Philip. *The Art of Tantra.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1978.
Reichle, Natasha. "One-Upmanship in the Sejarah Melayu: Rivalry, *Muslihat,* and the Construction of Status." *Malay Literature* 10.1–2 (1997): 52–73.
Resink, Th. A. "Belahan or a Myth Dispelled." *Indonesia* 6 (1968): 2–37.
van Ronkel, Ph. S. "De Afbeelding van het Mahākṣobhyabeeld te Simpang." *TBG* 52 (1910).

von Rosenberg, H. "Hindoe-bouwvallen in het landschap Padang-Lawas (Binnenlanden van Sumatra)." *TBG* 3 (1855): 58–62.
Rosi, Adele, ed. *Museum Nasional Guidebook.* Jakarta: PT Indo Multi Media, 1998.
Santiko, Hariani. "Early Research on Sivaitic Hinduism during the Majapahit Era." In *The Legacy of Majapahit,* ed. John Miksic and Endang Sri Hardiati Soekatno, 55–70. Singapore: National Heritage Board, 1995.
Santoso, Soewito. *Sutasoma: A Study in Javanese Wajrayana.* New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1975.
Saraswati, S. K. *Tantrayāna Art: An Album.* Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1977.
Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta. *The History of Śrī Vijaya.* Madras: University of Madras, 1949.
———. "Kaṭāha." *Journal of the Greater India Society* 5.2 (1938): 128–146.
Schastok, Sara. "Bronzes in the Amaravati style." In *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture,* ed. Marijke J. Klokke and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, 33–49. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994.
Schnitger, F. M. *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937.
———. *Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra.* 1939. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
———. *Hindoe-Oudheden aan de Batang Hari.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1936.
———. *Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Padang Lawas.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1936.
———. "De Tempel van Simangambat (Zuid Tapanoeli)." *TBG* 76 (1936): 332–335.
Schopen, Gregory. *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997.
Schoterman, J. A. "A Surviving Amoghapāśa Sādhana: Its Relation to the Five Main Statues of Candi Jago." In *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture,* ed. Marijke J. Klokke and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, 154–177. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994.
Sedyawati, Edi. *Gaṇeśa Statuary of the Kaḍiri and Singhasāri Periods: A Study of Art History.* Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994.
———. "The Making of Indonesian Art." In *The Sculpture of Indonesia,* ed. Jan Fontein, 97–111. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1990.
Setiani, Nina, Peter Fernandus, and Lisa Ekawati. "Tinjauan Seni Pahat di Situs Muara Jambi." In *Rapat Evaluasi Hasil Penelitian Arkeologi III,* ed. Niles A. Subagus, 235–247. Jakarta: Departmen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1988.
Shastri, Hirananda. "The Nalanda Copper-Plate of Devapaladeva." *Epigraphia Indica* 17.7 (1924): 310–327.
Shuhaimi, Nik Hassan. "Art, Archaeology, and the Early Kingdoms in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra: c. 400–1400 AD." Ph.D. diss. University of London, 1984.
———. "Buddhist Sculpture from Sumatra, Peninsular Malaysia, and Peninsular Thailand during the Śrīvijayan Period (7th–14th c. A.D.)." Ph.D. diss. University of London, 1976.
———. "Pre-modern Cities in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatera." *Jurnal Arkeologi Malaysia* 6 (1993): 63–77.
———. "Śrīvijaya as Socio-political and Cultural Entity." In *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity,* ed. J. Kathirithamby-Wells and John Villiers, 61–82. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1990.
———. "Warisan Seni Kerajaan Malayu dalam Konteks Kronologi dan Budaya di

Lembah Sungai Batanghari." In *Seminar Sejarah Malayu Kuno, Jambi, 7–8 Desember 1992,* 258–270. Jambi: Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat I Jambi Bekerjasama Dengan Kantor Wilayah Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Jambi, 1992.
Sibeth, Achim. *The Batak.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1991.
Skilling, Peter. "Dharmakīrti's Durbodhāloka and the Literature of Śrīvijaya." *Journal of the Siam Society* 85.1–2 (1997): 187–194.
Smith, Rita Kipp. "The Batak: Flamboyant Peoples of the Highlands." In *Sumatra: Island of Adventure,* ed. Eric Oey, 84–88. Lincolnwood: Passport Books, 1996.
Snellgrove, David. "Borobudur: Stupa or Mandala?" *East and West* 46.3–4 (1996): 477–483.
———, trans. *The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study.* London: Oxford University Press, 1959.
———. "Syncretism as a Main Feature of Indonesian Culture, As Seen by One More Used to Another Kind of Civilization." *Indonesia Circle* 56 (November 1991): 24–38.
Soebadio, Haryati. "Indian Religions in Indonesia." In *Dynamics of Indonesian History,* ed. Haryati Soebadio and Carine A. du Marchie Sarvaas. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company, 1978.
———. *Jñānasiddhānta: Secret Lore of the Balinese Śaivapriest.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971.
Soekatno, Endang Sri Hardiati. "Arca-Arca Buddha, Temuan Baru Dari Sumatera Utara." In *Cinandi: Persembahan Alumni Jurusan Arkeologi, Universitas Gadjah Mada Kepada Prof. Dr. H. R. Soekmono,* ed. Inajati Adrisijanti et al., 240–243. Yogyakarta: Panitia Lustrum VII Jurusan Arkeologi, Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1997.
Soekmono, R. "The Architecture of Srivijaya: A Review." In SPAFA, *Final Report: Consultative Workshop on Archaeological and Environmental Studies of Srivijaya,* 57–66. Bangkok: SPAFA, 1985.
———. *Chandi Gumpung of Muara Jambi: A Platform In Stead [sic] of a Conventional Chandi.* Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1987.
———. "Indonesian Architecture of the Classical Period: A Brief Survey." In *The Sculpture of Indonesia,* ed. Jan Fontein, 67–95. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1990.
———. *The Javanese Candi: Function and Meaning.* Studies in Asian Art and Archaeology, vol. 17. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995.
———. "Serat Centhini and the Rejected Buddha from the Main Stupa of Borobudur." In *Fruits of Inspiration: Studies in Honour of Prof. J. G. de Casparis, Retired Professor of the Early History and Archaeology of South and Southeast Asia at the University of Leiden, the Netherlands, on the Occasion of his 85th Birthday,* ed. Marijke J. Klokke and Karel R. van Kooij, 475–485. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2001.
Soemantri, Hilda. *Majapahit Terracotta Art.* Jakarta: Ceramic Society of Indonesia, 1997.
SPAFA. *Final Report: Consultative Workshop on Archaeological and Environmental Studies of Srivijaya.* Bangkok: SPAFA, 1985.

Speyer, J. S. "Eene Buddhistische Inscriptie Afkomstig van Java," pts. 1 and 2. *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen* 4.6 (1904): 138–144; 253–262.
van Stein Callenfels, P. V. "Rapport over een Dienstreis door een Deel van Sumatra." *OV* (1920): 62–75.
Stutterheim, Willem F. "Een bronzen Schedelnap." *Djawa* 9 (1929): 14–15.
———. "De Dateering van eenige oost-javaansche Beeldengroepen." *TBG* 76 (1936): 248–320.
———. "De Leidsche Bhairawa en Tjandi B van Singasari." *TBG* 74 (1934): 441–476.
———. "The Meaning of the Hindu-Javanese Candi." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 51 (1931): 1–15.
———. *Oudheden van Bali.* 2 vols. Singaradja: Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk, 1929.
———. *Rama-Legends and Rama-Reliefs in Indonesia.* New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, Abhiva Publications, 1989.
———. "Some Remarks of Pre-Hinduistic Burial Customs on Java." 1939. In *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology,* 63–90. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956.
Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Wilayah Provinsi Sumatera Barat dan Riau. "Kumpulan Prasasti-Prasasti Adityawarman (Sumatera Barat)." Unpublished transcript, 1995/1996.
Subagus, Niles A. *Rapat Evaluasi Hasil Penelitian Arkeologi III.* Jakarta: Departmen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1988.
Suhadi, Machi. *Prasasti-Prasasti Adityawarman.* Jakarta: Proyek Pengembangan Media Kebudayaan Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, 1995–1996.
———. "Silsilah Adityawarman." *Saraswati: Esai-Esai Arkeologi. Kalpataru Majalah Arkeologi* 9 (1990): 218–236.
Suleiman, Satyawati. *The Archaeology and History of West Sumatra.* Bulletin of the Research Centre of Archaeology of Indonesia, 12. Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional, Departemen P & K, 1977.
———. "Peninggalan-Peninggalan Purbakala di Padang Lawas." 1954. *Amerta: Berkala Arkeologi* 2 (1985): 23–37.
———. "Research on Srivijaya History and Art History." *Studies on Srivijaya,* 53–69. Jakarta: National Research Centre of Archaeology, 1981.
———. *Sculptures of Ancient Sumatra.* Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian Purbakala Jakarta, 1981.
Supangkat, Jim, ed. *Gerakan Seni Rupa Baru.* Jakarta: Penerbit PT Gramedia, 1979.
Supomo, S. *Arjunawijaya: A Kakawin of Mpu Tantular.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977.
———. "The Image of Majapahit in Later Javanese and Indonesian Writing." In *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia,* ed. A. Reid and D. Marr, 171–185. Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books, 1979.
Sutopo, Marsis. *Laporan Survai Pendataan Arkeologi DAS Batang Hari dan Ekskavasi Candi Sungai Langsat.* Batusangkar: Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Wilayah Provinsi Sumatera Barat dan Riau, 1992.
Takakusu, J., trans. *A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago, 671–695, by I Tsing.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896.

Tambiah, Stanley J. *The Buddhist Conception of Universal King and Its Manifestations in South and Southeast Asia.* Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, 1986.

———. "Famous Buddha Images and the Legitimation of Kings: The Case of the Sinhala Buddha (Phra Sihing) in Thailand." *Res* 4 (1982): 5–19.

———. *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Tantular, Mpu. *Sutasoma.* Trans. Soewito Santoso. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1986.

Tarling, Nicholas, ed. *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Teeuw, A., et al. *Śiwarātrikalpa of Mpu Tanakung.* Bibliotheca Indonesia, 3. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969.

Tideman, J. *Hindoe-invloed in noordelijk Batakland.* Uitgeven van het Bataksch Instituut, 23. Amsterdam: Drukkerrij "De Valk," 1936.

Verbeek, R. D. M. "Oudheden van Majdapahit." *TBG* 33 (1890): 1–15.

Versunkene Königreiche Indonesiens. Mainz: Von Zabern, 1995.

Wheatley, Paul. *The Golden Khersonese.* Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1961.

With, Karl. *Java: Brahmanische, buddhistische und eigenlebige Architectur und Plastik auf Java.* Hagen i. W.: Folkwang Verlag, 1920.

Wolters, O. W. *Early Indonesian Commerce.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967.

———. *The Fall of Srivijaya in Malay History.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970.

———. "Restudying Some Chinese Writings on Sriwijaya." *Indonesia* 42 (October 1986): 1–41.

———. "Studying Śrīvijaya." *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 52 (1979): 1–32.

Woodword, Hiram W., Jr. "The Jayabuddhamahānātha Images of Cambodia." *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 52–53 (1994–1995): 105–110.

———. "Practice and Belief in Ancient Cambodia: Claude Jacques' *Angkor* and the *Devarāja* Question." *JSEAS* 32.2 (June 2001): 249–261.

———. "Tantric Buddhism at Angkor Thom." *Ars Orientalis* 12 (1981): 57–64.

Worsley, Peter. "Narrative Bas-Reliefs at Candi Surawana." In *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries,* ed. D. G. Marr and A. C. Milner, 335–367. Singapore: ISEAS and ANU, 1986.

———. "On the Ordering of the Narrative Reliefs at Candi Surowono, East Java, a response to Marijke Klokke, 'On the Orientation of Ancient Javanese Temples: The Example of Candi Surowono,' IIAS Yearbook 1994." In *IIAS Yearbook 1995,* ed. Paul van der Velde, 220–223. Leiden: IIAS, 1996.

Wyatt, David K. "Relics, Oaths, and Politics in Thirteenth Century Siam." *JSEAS* 32.1 (2001): 3–66.

Yamin, H. Muhammad. *Tatanegara Majapahit, Sapta-Parwa II.* Jakarta: Yayasan Prapantja, 1962.

Zoetmulder, P. J. *Kalangwan: A Survey of Old Javanese Literature.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974.
———. *Old Javanese Dictionary.* 2 vols. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1982.
———. "The Significance of the Study of Culture and Religion for Indonesian Historiography." In *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography,* ed. Soedjatmoko et al., 326–343. Ithaca: Cornell Univeristy Press, 1965.

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

Any photographs uncredited here are by Natasha Reichle; the maps are by Douglas Reichle.

Asian Art Museum

3.2: Prajñāpāramitā, The Avery Brundage Collection, B62S32+ © Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. Used by permission.

6.11: The door guardians Nandīśvara and Mahākāla. Acquisition made possible by Joan and M. Glenn Vinson, Jr., and Richard and Kim Beleson; with additional funding from Forrest Mortimer, Hok Pui and Sally Yu Leung, Jean and Lindsay MacDermid, and Robert L. Spear; and with exchange funds from the gifts of Avery Brundage, Ed Nagel, Mr. and Mrs. John Bunker, and Elizabeth Fullerton Crocker. 2004.30.1-.2. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. Used by permission.

Dirk Bakker

i.2: Prajñāpāramitā, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 1403/XI 1587 © 1989

2.3: Meditating monk, Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Jawa Tengah, Prambanan, inv. no. 1082 © 1989

Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum,* Dacca, 1929, pl. XII

5.5: Heruka, Subhapur

Blom, *Antiquities of Singasari,* Leiden, 1939, pl. 3D

3.6: Head of Prajnaparamita

Grünwedel, *Mythologie du Buddhisme au Tibet en Mongolie,* Leipzig, 1900, fig. 105

4.20: Amoghapāśa and his attendants; Tibeto-Mongol drawing from Urga

© Leiden University Library Special Collections Research Centre

2.5: Seated figure in *bhūmisparśa mudrā,* photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 3520

2.8: Standing figure, photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 11932

4.2: Amoghapāśa, ca. 1268–1280, Candi Jago, Tumpang, East Java, photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 19

4.15: Inscription on 4.14, photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 1630

4.16: Amoghapāśa plaque, bronze, 1268–1292, Tumpang, East Java, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, 2630-1, photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 3517

4.22: Amoghapāśa, Pura Puseh, Kutri, Bali, photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 8713

4.23: Inscription on back of 4.16, photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 3518

4.24: Amoghapāśa (same as 4.14), Rambahan, West Sumatra, now in Museum Nasional Indonesia, photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 3779

4.29: Ādityavarman's inscription, photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 3780
5.1: Heruka, ca. eleventh–twelfth century, Biaro Bahal II, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 10591
5.3: Heruka base, photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 10592
5.8: Statuary at Padang Lawas, photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 10593
5.9: *Stūpa* or *stambha,* Biaro Bahal I, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 10585
6.26: Bhairava (same as i.1), mid-fourteenth century, in situ, Padang Roco (Sungai Langsat), West Sumatra, Museum Nasional Indonesia, inv. no. 6470, OD 7585
6.29: Bhairava, Candi Jago, in situ, photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 15655
6.30: Head of figure 6.28, photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 785
6.31: Minang dagger, photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 10595
6.32: Minang dagger (reverse), photo Oudheidkundige Dienst 10596

Thomas Murray

5.24: Batak shaman's staff *(tunggal panaluan),* nineteenth century, private collection

Trian Nguyen

6.28: Bhairava, Candi Jago, East Java

Pander, "Das Pantheon des Tschangstcha Hutuktu," 1890, 109

5.23: Drawing of Heruka's *khaṭvāṅga*

Raffles, *History of Java,* 1817, 42

4.3: Drawing of Amoghapāśa, Candi Jago
4.4: Head of Amoghapāśa, Candi Jago
4.5: Head of Amoghapāśa, side view, Candi Jago

© Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

3.4: Prajñāpāramitā, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, inv. no 1403-1697
4.21: Amoghapāśa, second half of ninth to early tenth century, Central Java, bronze, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. no. AK-RAK-1992-3
6.12: Gaṇeśa, ca. 1300, Candi Singasari, East Java, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, inv. no 1403-1681
6.16: Gaṇeśa, fourteenth century, Mt. Semeru, East Java, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, inv. no 1403-1759

Schnitger, *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra,* Leiden, 1937, pl. XXVIII

5.20: Bhairava and bhairavi

Singapore Art Museum Collection

c.1: Ken Dedes, 1975, by Jim Supangkat

© The Trustees of The British Museum

4.18: Māmakhī, ca. 1268–1280, from Candi Jago, East Java

Joanna Williams

5.4: Heruka, ca. eleventh century, Ratnagiri, Orissa, India

INDEX

Page numbers in **bold** indicate illustrative material.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Natasha Reichle received a PhD in the history of art from the University of California at Berkeley. She is presently associate curator of Southeast Asian art at the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.



Production Notes for Reichle | VIOLENCE AND SERENITY
Cover and Interior designs by April Leidig-Higgins
Text and display type in Adobe Garamond PremierPro
Printing and binding by Thomson-Shore, Inc.
Printed on 70# Huron Matte, 556 ppi